

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,132 March 7, 1958 6d. U.S. Air Express Edition 10 cents

MODERATOR PROTESTS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPON POLICY

A PROTEST "as Moderator and in the name of the whole Church" was made by Dr. George F. MacLeod, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, at the Usher Hall, Edinburgh, on Monday, February 24, against the Defence Minister's statement that Britain might use nuclear weapons if Russia were to launch a major attack with conventional weapons.

Dr. MacLeod, who was addressing a mass meeting organised by the Edinburgh Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, said he had read Mr. Duncan Sandys' White Paper on Defence with horror.

There was a clear implication, he said, that the West must use nuclear weapons against conventional weapons—a thing which had never been suggested before.

Dr. MacLeod said: "It is as Moderator and in the name of the whole Church that I have to remind people in Scotland that the last time this was discussed by the General Assembly it was the non-pacifist section of the Church that said that if there were deliberate bombing of the population, the Church would withdraw its support even at the risk of losing the war."

"In the last few days our Government has declared that in the event of conventional weapons being used we will take it upon ourselves to use nuclear weapons. I protest, as Moderator, against this madness."

Earlier, Dr. MacLeod said he personally

● ON PAGE SEVEN

Golden Rule to sail again

THE crew of the Golden Rule have announced that plans are being made to sail again for the Bikini-Eniwetok area on or about March 20 to continue protests against the US Government's nuclear tests this spring. Depending on wind and weather, the testing area could be reached about the middle of May. (The testing period has been announced from April to August.)

The Golden Rule was forced by the worst storms in the Pacific for many years to return to port at San Pedro where they docked on Feb. 24, almost two weeks to the minute after their departure.

Captain of the 30-foot ketch is Albert Bigelow. Other crew members included William Huntington, George Willoughby, and David Gale.

The out-going crew will include the first three while David Gale (who suffered from continuous sickness) will go to Philadelphia as office manager of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, the national committee sponsoring the voyage.

According to Bigelow, the boat sustained minor damages in a 60-mile-an-hour gale and needs more tuning before again starting the 5,000 mile voyage. Other factors will be a forecast of good weather, more

★ ON BACK PAGE

The Times, News Chronicle and unilateral nuclear disarmament

HERE IS OUR ANSWER!

We are the realists

AN EDITORIAL

THREE THINGS ARE SHOWN by the editorials from The Times and the News Chronicle quoted on this page.

1. The powers-that-be are anxious. Those who have been responsible for creating and maintaining Britain's war policies—whether Conservative, Labour or other—are seriously worried lest the "rising public response" against these instruments of suicide succeed.

TOTAL PEACE—WE SAY YES London meeting answers Sandys

By Constance Willis

"NO power in the world can defeat a people who are ready to sacrifice for peace as they are ready to sacrifice for war," said Victor Yates, MP, in London on Monday.

He was addressing a crowded meeting in the Caxton Hall organised by the Peace Pledge Union as an answer to the Government's Defence White Paper.

Referring to the debate on the Defence White Paper, he said it was a disgrace that the Government should enter into an agreement to establish missile bases costing £10 million without bringing it before the House.

But even that, he said, was not so important as the fact that from these bases missiles could be fired 1,500 miles and possibly begin the destruction of human civilisation.

The White Paper, he said, admitted that although the conflagration might be prevented indefinitely through the balancing fears of mutual annihilation, this would "indeed be a mournful prospect."

Yet, as he had told the Prime Minister, the Government's policy was based on that very philosophy of fear.

The White Paper also stated that the democratic Western nations would never start a war against Russia. Yet it started one on Suez—a diabolical attack which the future would record as one of the most sordid chapters in British history.

The Government's promise not to start a war against Russia was indeed little assurance.

□ ON PAGE TWO

2. These people—whether Conservative, Liberal or Labour—are seeking to repel or soften the attack on their policies by charging that they are based on "over-simplification" (Morgan Phillips), a "wave of emotion" leading to "irresponsibility" (The Times), or that reliance on "emotion rather than reason" will lead to "shocking irresponsibility" (News Chronicle).

3 Although it is true that one need not know what alternative policy is best to know that the present one is wrong, it is important to face up to what unilateral nuclear disarmament would mean.

We will deal with these points in sequence.

If rebels are disowned

1 It is a good sign that the party leaderships are worried. It means that they know that there is a chance that the campaign to unilaterally renounce nuclear weapons may succeed.

It means also that there will be more splutterings, threats, and cries of "irresponsibility" in the future.

If Labour headquarters disowns MPs who are in rebellion against the official Labour line against unilaterally renouncing the Bomb, there may be fireworks.

A resolution was almost passed at Brighton—except for the efforts of Bevan, the Executive and the TUC chiefs—in favour of a British renunciation of the Bomb. The disowning of rebel MPs would either result in enough rebellion all over the country by Constituency Labour Parties to reverse the decision and oust the present leadership, or it would show that genuine radicals have no place in the Labour Party of today.

People in all political parties must be ready to stand an increasingly heavy pressure from political caucuses as the chance

■ ON BACK PAGE

The Times

THE Times on March 1 warned in its leader of "the delicate and uncertain state of public opinion regarding In addition to "deep and sincere divisions of opinion" in all parties about it, "there are also signs of a rising public response to emotional appeals for unilateral action by this country."

"The danger is that a wave of public emotion may make it difficult to decide these issues on their merits," the disturbed Times continued.

"So far the political parties have not been deflected from their responsible attitude," said the Times. Only minor concessions, if any, had thus far been made on the issue by Labour to "the irresponsible Left"—meaning apparently Victory for Socialism which favours unilateral renunciation of the Bomb.

"The danger or organized popular pressure remains great, however, and the Labour Party have been wise to forestall it."

"It is in the interests of both the country and the party that a firm attitude should be taken to a dissidence which is likely only to encourage irresponsibility."

News Chronicle

THE British public is slowly emerging from its political apathy. . . .

"All over the country people who have remained unmoved and indifferent to politics for years are awakening to the grim H-bomb world. It is right that they should do so," declared the News Chronicle leader on March 4.

There were, however, "grave dangers of confusion" in the emotion accompanying the movement.

The issue posed no new problems for the pacifist "although it does intensify his beliefs and lend urgency to his preaching," nor to the tiny minority favouring alignment with Communists and who would use the movement as "an opportunity" for encouraging anti-Americanism and spreading defeatism.

"But the great majority of those who call for unilateral nuclear disarmament by this country do not come into either category. It is of great importance that they should know what they want and how they think they can get it. An emotional revulsion to nuclear horror weapons is not enough. . . .

"Are they willing to abandon the Western alliance? The moral value of renouncing the H-bomb would not amount to much if Britain merely threw the responsibility on to her allies."

"Do they in any case believe that a moral gesture will influence the Kremlin?"

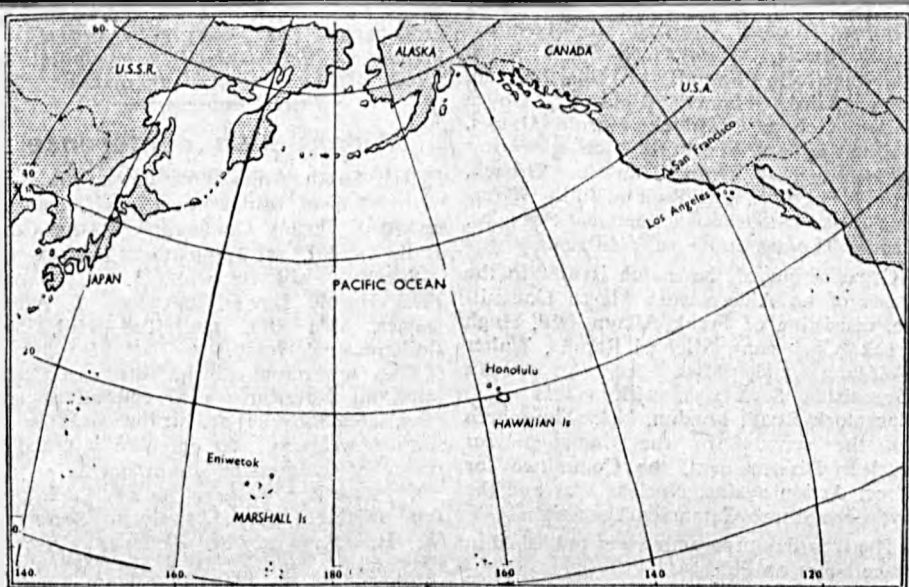
"Do they believe they can resist aggression with conventional weapons, or are they willing to shelter behind America while claiming a nuclear neutrality?"

"If Britain rejected rocket bases would she be any safer?"

"Would not the break up of the Western alliance rather encourage Russia to take risks with disastrous results to the West?"

Dolci in England

DANILO DOLCI, known as the "Gandhi of Italy," is in England. He spoke on Monday to an audience invited by the National Peace Council. A report will appear in Peace News next week.



TOTAL PEACE—WE SAY YES

□ FROM PAGE ONE

ance of peace while it still insisted on possessing great military power.

Besides Egypt, opportunities had been lost in the Far East—we had kept China out of UN, so that the Chinese Prime Minister could say only the other day that the British Government is double-faced. In Cyprus and the Middle East Britain continued a policy of violence and disorder.

Again, the White Paper said that the very success of the nuclear deterrent compelled the Communist powers to seek to achieve their goal of world domination by other methods—political and economic penetration and indirect military action.

The protection of the free world, it said, against the Communist threat in all its forms must be treated as indivisible.

So, said Mr. Yates, we are armed to prevent Communism. But history has taught us that you cannot destroy any idea or philosophy

Working inside the Labour Party

Then the Government went on to say that provision would continue to be made for training schools and equipment for Civil Defence.

"Balderdash!" said Mr. Yates. The whole conception behind all that, together with the missile bases agreement, was a matter on which the House was entitled to vote.

"I am not prepared to go along with Duncan Sandys on the road to hell," he said, "even if his road is paved with disarmament intentions."

Turning to the attitude of the Labour Party, he said he asked support for those who were trying to use their influence inside the Party.

When he was elected, his constituents knew his opposition to conscription and the H-bomb and heavy armaments, and he felt it his duty to give effect inside the House to those opinions which he believed his constituents approved.

Members of Parliament, he said, "will go as far as you drive them on this peace issue."

The logic of a maniac

Speaking as a scientist and a Quaker, Prof. Dame Kathleen Lonsdale said she found it difficult to disentangle science and politics, because scientific knowledge could be put to good and evil uses and had its effect on politics.

Sometimes she wondered whether we could escape from what we deserved. It was so logical when they had bombs ready on airplanes and missiles ready to fire from bases.

But it was the logic of a maniac, and she couldn't help being frightened that one day he would do what he threatened.

There were suicidal maniacs who were that way because they were afraid of something that might happen, and they were bent on self-destruction so as to show they were willing to destroy themselves rather than face that disaster.

When she read leading articles which said that we must rely on having the courage to use this ultimate weapon, it seemed all of a piece with suicide.

Not one weapon, but war itself

The only saving thing about the Labour Party was that there were men like Victor Yates in it.

But the rest of them were disfranchised; Mr. Shinwell, for example, wanted the "rebels" to abandon their principles and accept the verdict of their fellows.

Referring to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, Prof. Lonsdale said it was doing a fine job. They must all realise, nevertheless, that nuclear weapons were only a symptom, like a fever.

She believed that the campaign would only lead to success if they were prepared to go on to the next step—to eliminate war itself, not just one kind of weapon. Only thus could they reverse the trend of world affairs.

They could not take away the power to make those weapons; if there was war, they would be used.

A revolutionary change of policy was called for. That would not come through

mass appeals, nor through governments, for they were essentially conservative, even a Labour Government.

"They are not revolutionary," she said, "and we are asking for a revolution."

Neither fear of war nor fear of domination was a good ground for a permanent peace. They must build up the peoples of the world into a community which had a common interest.

That integration of mankind meant the faithfulness of individuals. Real power was not in the hands of masses, nor of governments, but of individuals.

For that reason they must stand by their pledge!—"War—We Say 'No!'"

"One of the significant features of last week's debate," said Emrys Hughes, MP,

Cypriots switch to NVR

THE struggle against British rule in Cyprus has now shifted from violence to non-violent resistance.

On March 2, EOKA, the Greek Cypriot underground organisation called on Greek Cypriots to begin a campaign of "passive resistance as from today."

The Turkish Cypriot TMT group earlier had urged Turkish Cypriots to use passive resistance as the most effective weapon against tyranny in their struggle for self-determination for the Turkish minority.

The EOKA leaflet, signed by Digenis (understood to be Colonel Grivas) was widely circulated in Cyprus.

"Stand by for further instructions," he said. "I shall give detailed orders from time to time." Condemning British exploitation of Cyprus, the leaflet declares that no one should be "stupid enough to help finance a condition of slavery."

Greek Cypriots have already begun a boycott of British football pools, and headmen and elders from 15 villages in south-west Cyprus on March 2 resolved to resign from their Government-appointed posts as part of their passive resistance campaign.

In London, a spokesman for the Turkish Cypriot Committee—Cyprus - Is - Kibris Turkur Cemiyeti—told Peace News that posters resolving to support the Turkish Cypriot TMT passive resistance movement were carried at the Trafalgar Square rally on Feb. 23, and that their committee as part of the passive resistance movement had discontinued its Sunday broadcasts over Cyprus Radio.

Nineteen MPs support Aldermaston march

THE EASTER MARCH to Aldermaston initiated by the Direct Action Committee against Nuclear War was given widespread front page publicity in the national Press on Tuesday when an appeal by nineteen MPs for the Labour movement to support the march was made public.

Sponsors for the march now include Dr. Donald Soper, Canon L. John Collins, Alex Comfort, Michael Tippet, Philip Toynbee, Harold Steele, Arthur Goss, Sheila Jones, and the following MPs: Frank Allaun, John Baird, Fenner Brockway, Joyce Butler, George Craddock, Harold Davies, Marcus Lipton, Sir Fred Messer, Walter Monslow, Bert Oram, Maurice Orbach, George Pargiter, John Rankin, Julius Silverman, John Stonehouse, Stephen Swingle, George Thomas and Konni Zilliacus.

Organisation of the march is now in the hands of an Aldermaston March Committee, consisting of Frank Allaun, MP, Hugh Brock (Chairman), Michael Randle, Walter Wolfgang and Miss Pat Arrowsmith (Organising Secretary), with offices at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. The march has the support of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Committee for Direct Action against Nuclear War and the Hydrogen Bomb Campaign Committee.

The four-day programme was published in Peace News on Feb. 14.

"was the fact that the speakers on both sides couldn't get away from pacifism."

Hardly one of the speakers, he said, could avoid mentioning the fact that there seemed to be a lot of pacifists about the country these days.

Public opinion ahead of politicians

There were, of course, different degrees of pacifists. There were the out-and-out ones, like those on the platform, who carried on the work of preaching the gospel year-in, year-out, with small audiences, and we owed a deep debt of gratitude to them.

But in recent years a lot of people were coming to the forefront of public opinion who, though not fully pacifists, were coming near to it, and he was grateful to any organisation that tried to bring pressure on the politicians.

But why were Russell and Priestley, and Ritchie Calder and the others having to campaign? It was because the Labour Party had not given a lead.

In Parliament, said Mr. Hughes, one was

All-Wales Campaign against nuclear weapons

PLAID CYMRU (the Welsh Party) has launched a nation-wide campaign against the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons, said Mr. Elwyn Roberts, Plaid Cymru Organiser, at Bangor last week.

In April large-scale meetings will be held at Cardiff, Carmarthen, Aberystwyth, Dolgellau, Wrexham, Colwyn Bay, Caernarfon and Llangefni. These will be followed by a series of smaller meetings in every county in Wales.

Speakers from England and Scotland are to be invited to the meetings, added Mr. Roberts, and the committee announced that Plaid Cymru would be willing to co-operate with other movements to make the impact of Welsh public opinion felt in London and beyond.

Elwyn Roberts (Welsh Nation, High Street, Bangor, Caerns) is Organiser for the Northern Counties. The Campaign in Southern Wales will be organised from Plaid Cymru Headquarters (8 Queen Street, Cardiff).

No alternative

The statement declares:

There is no conceivable argument by which the use of nuclear weapons can be justified.

"Only a few nuclear bombs would be needed to destroy England and Wales completely and the Government now admits that to defend all parts of Britain from such bombs is impossible.

"We believe it to be the duty of Wales to voice unmistakably her convictions in this matter, emphasising the critical necessity for a Welsh Government to give true expression to what our people really feel.

"We believe that international relations should be based not on insane threats but on co-operation. That is why we uphold the principle of self-government for every nation and that is why we oppose nuclear armaments. The world must choose the politics of international co-operation or perish. There is now no alternative.

Miners plan conference

THE South Wales Area of the National Union of Mineworkers have arranged an All-in Peace Conference at the Cory Hall, Cardiff, at 2.30 p.m. on March 15.

Speakers will be Prof. J. D. Bernal, FRS, Harold Davies, MP, Rev. T. Alban Davies, BA, BD, and Ted Hill, Sec. Boilermakers' Union.

The resolution to be discussed calls upon all Governments to end all nuclear tests, abandon the production and use of nuclear weapons, and agree to a practical policy of progressive disarmament.

Organisations wishing to send delegates (up to three) should apply to Secretary, W. H. Crews, 2 St. Andrews Crescent, Cardiff.

apt to be isolated from the real trends of public opinion.

He believed the political Parties were behind, not ahead of, public opinion, which was fully aware of the world-danger of the H-bomb.

There was no doubt, he thought, that if we had a referendum on the subject, any Party which stood for the H-bomb would be defeated.

Referring to all the talk about the threat of Communist domination, Mr. Hughes said he had no fear at all that the Russians wanted to try and conquer Europe.

If we removed the fear from the Russian mind that we were prepared to destroy them by nuclear weapons, he believed that Russian policy would completely change.

A real disarmament policy would change the international atmosphere and do away with mutual fear.

Leaders don't lead, they're pushed

Emrys Hughes stressed the fact that the statesmen needed the impact of informed, intelligent public opinion.

We must not over-estimate the role of leaders in politics today.

He didn't think Gaitskill led the Labour Party. He was the spokesman, and when the Labour people behind him pushed him into a position he did very well.

"And you," he concluded, "must be among those who push the politicians from behind."

Must be another leak!

Stuart Morris pointed to an interesting comparison between the Defence White Paper and the PPU Declaration.

The White Paper, he said, began—"The world today is poised between the hope of total peace and the fear of total war."

The PPU Declaration read—"The choice is between total peace and total war."

"We wrote ours before the Government did," he said. "It must be another of those nasty leaks!"

The policy of the Government, he continued, was the choice of total war; the PPU Declaration was based on the individual pledge to renounce war and on unilateral disarmament.

Passive resistance—the only alternative

It was a great encouragement to know that unilateral disarmament was now the accepted policy of the whole pacifist movement.

Pacifism had now passed out of the sphere of suspicion into a kind of toleration, and it was now widely acknowledged that passive resistance had to be considered as the only alternative to the present policy.

The Manchester Guardian could now say: "If you want a simple alternative to the policy of the Government, it is to be found in pacifism."

The campaign for nuclear disarmament did not go far enough. It was not enough to ask for the suspension of tests, or to delay the setting up of missile bases, or to demand the renunciation of the H-bomb.

They couldn't separate those weapons from the cause of those weapons. If there were no war policy there would be no H-bombs.

Policy counts, not weapons

It was unrealistic to ask a Government that believed in force or the threat of force to abandon the weapon which it sincerely believed was the best shield this country had.

They must see that the policy was changed, so that the means of using their powers might also be changed.

If our demand for the abolition of nuclear weapons were granted, it would only mean going back to 1939.

We must have total disarmament, Stuart Morris concluded, but it would come about by example, not by agreement.

The Chairman, Sybil Morrison, said at the commencement of the meeting that the Minister of Defence, Mr. Duncan Sandys, had said that the world was poised between the hope of peace and the fear of total war, hence this meeting to answer the question: What is the choice we are going to make?



In an exchange of letters between the Soviet leader and a Middlesex anti-nuclear weapons committee

KHRUSHCHOV WRITES TO TWICKENHAM

MR. KHRUSHCHOV has commented on rocket bases, nuclear weapon tests and nuclear disarmament in an exchange of letters with the Twickenham Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons.

The Council began the correspondence on Feb. 6 with a letter to Mr. Khrushchov. The Council's letter contained a resolution calling for a Summit Meeting to discuss the banning of testing and development of nuclear weapons.

In reply Mr. Khrushchov says that "the imposition by the United States of rocket weapons on West European countries, including Britain... springs from the policy of the 'cold war' and the arms drive."

Speaking of atomic and hydrogen rockets, Mr. Khrushchov points out that "if our country, as the result of an attack, were to suffer colossal losses, then the crushing retaliatory blows would be able to bring still greater consequences to the British Isles as a result of such a war."

Three years ago, writes Mr. Khrushchov, the USSR proposed the total prohibition of nuclear weapons and their withdrawal from the armaments of States. Had the US and Britain accepted Soviet proposals, submitted at the United Nations, tests of nuclear weapons would have been halted as from Jan. 1, 1958.

Summit Conference

Mr. Khrushchov continues: "In our view there should be no difficulty in the leading statesmen reaching agreement on the ending of tests; after all, at the present time only three powers are carrying out nuclear weapon tests, and of these the Soviet Union has already given its consent to the immediate ending of tests."

"The ending of nuclear weapon tests would be an important link in the chain of measures whose realisation would result in the ending of the arms race, the establishment of the necessary trust between states, and the removal of the danger of atomic war."

"The holding of a summit conference should play a positive part in this connection."

In reply, the Twickenham Council for Abolition of Nuclear Weapons sent the following letter to Mr. Khrushchov:

OUR Committee has received with great interest your cable in answer to our resolution calling for a Summit Meeting to discuss the banning of testing and development of nuclear weapons.

As you will appreciate, our Committee is just one of many such local efforts throughout Great Britain, whose ultimate object is not merely the ending of nuclear tests but the achievement of a complete programme of disarmament.

A big protest meeting recently held in the centre of London and attended by many thousands of supporters called for a Summit Conference to negotiate for:

1. The stopping of all further tests of nuclear weapons.
2. The stopping of the establishment of new missile bases.
3. The securing of the establishment of neutral and nuclear-free zones.
4. The securing of the abolition of the manufacture and stock-piling of all nuclear weapons.
5. The prevention of the acquisition of nuclear weapons by other nations.

Unilateral action

In addition, this Campaign, which is gaining nation-wide support, called for unilateral action by Great Britain, if necessary, to end the nuclear tests.

Already pressure of public opinion in our country has resulted in the pledge of the Labour Party that when returned to power it will unilaterally suspend tests.

In this connection we should like to ask whether the peoples of the Soviet Union also have the same opportunity to protest about the nuclear arms race and, in particular, whether requests for unilateral action on the part of the Soviet Union to suspend tests are being made by your own people?

We have heard many statements in the past few months about your vast strength

in nuclear and conventional weapons, and we feel that, while unilateral action by Great Britain would be a great achievement, it would be an even more effective first step to establishing trust among nations, if you yourself would unilaterally forego tests.

We are pleased to hear that in your opinion it should not be difficult to reach agreement on the question of the control of tests, as up to now we have always understood that this vital question has proved the biggest stumbling block to an agreement for the cessation of tests.

We are sure you will appreciate that the stopping of tests alone will not remove the chance of nuclear war which endangers the safety of the entire human race. In advocating agreement to stop tests, we regard this as an opportunity for the Governments of the three nuclear powers to give evidence by deeds as well as words of their good faith by honouring such an agreement, which, as you say, can be subject to satisfactory control; at the same time this period should be regarded as a probationary stage during which the Governments of the three nuclear powers would be expected to reach agreement on the next stage of disarmament.

We shall continue to work within our own democratic framework in achieving these joint objectives and, in particular, to urge our own Government to realise the vital importance of high-level talks.

Needless to say we warmly appreciate your personal reply to our resolution.

FROM S. RHODESIA BASIL DELAINE COMMENTS ON MR. TODD'S DEFEAT AND ASKS

Where will the African look now?

WELL, it has happened! Mr. Garfield Todd's loss of the United Federal Party leadership has certainly shocked Africans in the Federation. It is now expected that the African branches of the party will disband.

Africans interpret the defeat of Todd as a victory for white supremacy. Some say it spells the end of partnership, if it ever existed.

The question is in what direction the "moderate" politically minded African will now transfer his allegiance.

The newly-formed Constitution Party, which will hold its first convention in

UP AND DOING Campaign with PN

WE have had to enlarge Peace News again this week. There is so much to report; readers and reporters are pouring in material for publication.

Sales are moving upwards. The February 21 issue with the report of the Central Hall meeting sold out rapidly, although hundreds of extra copies were printed. Last week we printed even more copies, and these are disappearing as I write.

We urge every reader to use Peace News in their campaigning activities. Order extra copies in good time. Phone or wire on Tuesday if at all possible, before the issue is printed.

We don't want to put undue emphasis on our need for money at this time, even though each enlarged issue costs us an extra £50. We believe that if we effectively fill a need for the British peace movement the necessary financial support will be forthcoming.

Contributions since February 21 are £55 10s. 11d. and the total since the beginning of the year is £105 7s. 2d. We need £1,895 by the end of the year.

THE EDITOR.

To PEACE NEWS, 3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4.

★ I want to campaign for peace. Send me...

★ Please send me the address of the nearest pacifist group.

★ Please send trial subscriptions to my friends (list attached) at 2s. 6d. for eight weeks, post free.

NAME

ADDRESS

Discussion on non-violence

Articles, book reviews, and letters appear in "Non-violence" (6d.)—the bi-monthly publication of the Non-violence Commission of the Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Sleep-walking in a nightmare

RITCHIE CALDER ON WHITE PAPER

THE Defence White Paper shows that our rulers are sleep-walking in a nightmare, says Ritchie Calder, Vice-chairman of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, in a letter to The Times.

The nightmare is of their own creation, he says, for they know the horror they promise others would recoil upon themselves, as there is no defence against nuclear weapons.

They tell us their fear is of "Russian aggression." Then what is the position? he asks. The USSR has inter-continental missiles. The USA and ourselves have not. The answer is to be intermediate range missiles, from British bases. But the whole world knows we shall not have the missiles for over a year.

"If they really believe the Russians are aggressive," says Mr. Calder, "this is an open invitation to them to act while we are still unprepared."

Since Russia cannot be expected to wait until we are ready. Mr. Sandys has had to re-define "aggression" as a major attack on any Western nation "even with conventional forces."

But this again, Mr. Calder points out, leads us into the hypocrisy of not daring to define 'major attack.' For the nuclear counter-attack which it invokes would be the end of the deterrent... and of the civilised world."

All we have done by these statements, therefore, "is to devalue the deterrent."

'Peace—the next Steps'

THE 1958 Conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organisations for Peace will be held at the Krogerup Højskole at Humlebaek, near Elsinore, Denmark, from Sunday evening to Friday, August 24-29.

The general title of the Conference will be: "Peace—the Next Steps" and the discussions will be opened by speakers from several countries.

The charge for board and accommodation for the five days and the Conference fee will be 120 Danish krone (say £6 6s. or US \$18).

Details may be obtained from 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

Briefly

Picketing of the French Military Attaché's office in London has been going on on Saturday mornings in protest against the treatment and trial of the Algerian girl, Djamilia Bouhired. It has been organised by the Movement for Colonial Freedom and will continue until March 15.

Every MP has received a letter from the No Conscription Council urging that an end to the call-up should not rest upon the solution to the problems raised by overseas commitments and reorganisation of military establishments.

Party within a party

WE do not know what is likely to be the outcome of the discussions the leaders of the Victory for Socialism group in the Labour Party are to have with representatives of the Party Executive, but we always find something ironical in the charge that is levelled when some of the more politically minded people in the Labour Party come together for the formulation of policy that they are forming a "party within a party."

Each year, some weeks before the Labour Party meets in conference, the representatives of all the trade unions affiliated to the Labour Party come together in Congress. The greater part of the matters they discuss and upon which they reach decisions are political issues which will be coming up for discussion at the Labour Party Conference. There could hardly be a more clear example of a "party within a party" than this, but we never hear any complaint about it.

The worst offence of the Victory for Socialism group is that its Executive have proposed to seek the setting up of its own local groups in the constituencies beside the local Labour Parties. Under the disapproval of Transport House it has apparently retreated from this intention. In our view what is a great deal more desirable than the establishment of such new groups within the Party framework is measures for making the local Labour Parties themselves more effectively articulate.

The present Labour Party policy on the H-bomb was carried by the trade unions at the last Labour Party Conference in the face of the opposition of the majority of the local Labour Parties. The membership of the local Labour Parties is of course a minority in the Labour Party as a whole, but this minority embraces the most politically conscious and active elements of the Party. Whereas an equal number of people organised in a trade union cast their votes as a whole at a Labour Party Conference (after having, as we have seen, discussed the matter with the representatives of the other trade union a few weeks earlier) the local Labour Parties have no such link with each other, and their representatives go to Conference as separate individual units to be submerged by the trade union steam-roller.

There would seem to be no constitutional reason—and there is certainly no reason in equity—why the local Labour Parties should not have their own national federation and their own machinery for discussion so that they may develop a common voice where they have a common view to express.

Climbing to the Summit

AN important stage in the approach to the arrangement of talks by the heads of States has been reached in the acceptance by the Russian Government of the proposal that there shall be a preliminary arranging conference of Foreign Ministers.

The Russian Government has not only notified this acceptance to the Western Powers, but is also very active in the normal diplomatic field in seeking to bring the meeting about. There seems little doubt now that a "Summit" meeting will take place in the course of the year.

The actual proposal that the Russian Government now makes is that there shall be a meeting of the heads of some 30 States—all those associated with both the Western and Eastern blocs and a generous selection of neutral Governments.

The Russian Government can hardly anticipate that a meeting of this size will provide the kind of personal consultation that the Geneva meeting made possible. It is to be assumed then that it is likely to agree to a considerably smaller meeting.

Indeed there is good reason to believe that what the Russians are really seeking is an opportunity for Mr. Khrushchov or Marshal Bulganin to talk to President Eisenhower. They have given repeated indications that they would like to reach some kind of joint agreement with the US Government, and in a Press interview last week the Russian Ambassador in Washington, Mr. Menshikov, repeated the Russian pro-



posal for a pact of friendship between Russia and the United States.

States would provide an admirable occasion on which to announce it.

Black and the grey

"THE danger of global war," said Mr. Soames, the War Secretary, in the "Defence" debate last week "lay not in the black, but in the grey." The "black" was an

all-out attack by Russia upon Europe, or the mobilisation, say, of 200 divisions by Russia, or the bombing of London—with either "conventional" or nuclear bombs. In that case the world war would be on and the H-bomb would be used by Britain. The "white" was some kind of "minor incursion" or "incidental border incident." In such cases conventional arms would be relied upon.

Running through the debate was the question: What is to happen if the "aggression" occurs not in the black or in the white but "in the grey"—in the enormous area of possibilities in between? It is, of course, in this area in between that is likely to occur the incident that will set off the chain of events that will bring the third world war, unless war is renounced without qualification.

It is really fantastic to base a policy on the assumption that Russia—without any relationship to the pull and thrust of the struggle for power between the two blocs—would out of the blue assemble its 200 divisions and start to march across Europe. On the other hand it is shutting one's eyes to recent history to assume that the "minor incursion" must inevitably be some action undertaken by Russia or one of the Warsaw Pact nations.

Was the Franco-British invasion of Egypt, for instance, a "minor incursion"? And if the Russian Government had decided—as it did actually threaten—to take action against the Suez invasion would that have been something "in the grey"? And how would it have remained in the grey following any counter-measures Britain might decide to take?

It is in some such form as this that a new world war threatens and the Labour criticisms of the Government rested on the fact that the Government proposals gave no indication that this fact was being faced.

The Labour plan, however, is one that only makes the danger even more evident. According to Mr. Brown the way to deal with these intermediate wars is through the equipment of the British forces with "tactical" nuclear weapons, a course which would make every war except the "incidental border incident" a nuclear war and would inevitably be a likely prelude to the use of the H-bomb.

Good offices

THE good offices to be undertaken by Mr. Murphy for the United States and Mr. Beeley for Britain in the question of Franco-Tunisian relationships following the Sakiet massacre do not become any easier of fulfilment. On the problem of the use by the Algerians of the Tunisian border area the proposal for a combined patrol by the French and Tunisians was rejected by the Tunisian Government and a proposal for supervision by an international force was rejected by the French Government on the desparately unreal assumption that the whole Algerian question is something that the French will ultimately settle themselves and that they do not propose to let international influence get a foot in.

Instead the French proposed to evacuate a great stretch of land in Algeria along the Tunisian frontier and thus create a "no man's land." At its most favourable—that is the French—assessment, the consequences of this aspect of the "French presence" in the Algerian people would have meant the uprooting of some 35,000 to 40,000 of them and so far no indication has been given as to what is to happen to these after their displacement and what kind of compensation they are to receive.

According to a letter that President Bourguiba has sent to the US President, however, this operation has already begun. There are 4,000 refugees from Tunisia in the area who have arrived in Tunisia to be added to the thousands of earlier refugees who have fled from that unhappy land and these have brought tales of massacres, rapes and arson having occurred in the clearing process and the development of a "scorched earth" area.

There has yet to be confirmation of these allegations, but judged by the whole record of the French military authorities in Algeria there is only too much reason to fear that they are substantially true.

Editorial and Publishing office.

3 Blackstock Road
London, N.4

Tel: STAmford Hill 2262

PEACE NEWS

March 7, 1958

Distribution office for U.S.A.

20, S. Twelfth St.,
Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Reg'd as a newspaper. Entered
as second class matter at
Post Office, Philadelphia, Pa.

LABOUR AND THE H-BOMB

MR. SHINWELL'S REMARK in the Commons "defence" debate that there is less difference between official Labour policy and that of the Government than between the different views within the Labour Party is perfectly true. It is a very important fact in today's politics.

There can be no more vital issue than how to face the situation produced by the creation and constant development of nuclear weapons. When, therefore, a leading politician asserts that in this field of policy he has more in common with the party to which he is "opposed" than with a big section of his own party, it is very clear the time has arrived for new political alignments.

Mr. Shinwell remarked that he would like to see a standing committee of both parties on "defence." We see no reason why Mr. Shinwell should not help such unified "defence" planning by joining the Conservative Party—and he might very well take Messrs. Gaitskell and Brown and quite a number of his other colleagues with him.

The claim that there is a significant difference between the official Labour view and the Government on arms and international policy is hollow and artificial. This is made clear by the Labour amendment in this debate and its advocacy by Mr. George Brown, the Party's leading spokesman on this subject.

Labour urged rejection of the Government policy because it "relies primarily on the threat of thermo-nuclear warfare, insists on the installation of strategic rocket bases in Britain before the projected Summit talks, and fails to provide effectively for Britain's defence requirements."

★ ★
THERE IS VERY LITTLE in that to indicate positively what different policy a Labour Government would follow. On the first point, Labour is officially equally with the Government in favour of the manufacture and stockpiling of H-bombs.

The concluding phrase implies that there are additional armaments measures that would be taken by Labour. The middle section on rocket bases is, in the framework of the whole policy, merely a piece of empty obscurantism included as a sop to the growing popular disquietude to create the impression that Labour Party policy is different from what it actually is.

When one examines Mr. Brown's speech to seek some solid content to fill out the phrases in the amendment, one finds:

Some criticism of the Government's failure to provide rapid enough transport to rush British troops to different parts of the world; the suggestion that "stand-off" bombs can be developed to be propelled some 600 miles after being discharged from bomber aeroplanes and these may make intermediate range missiles unnecessary; some deprecation of the Bagdad Pact; the criticism that Britain has been withdrawing troops from NATO without proper consultation of the other NATO Powers; and a complaint that the Government is failing to provide the army with the tactical nuclear weapons it requires for an effective military policy.

Apart from suspending the installation of missile bases, that is all. We suggest that there is very little here to make it worth while to change the present Government for a Labour Government.

It was very clear from Mr. Brown's speech that he does not attach any very great diplomatic importance to the suspension of the installation of missile bases, and we think he is right in this.

His view is that for the present they are unnecessary because V-bombers with "stand off" bombs can do their work just as well and that the US "Thor" missiles are of doubtful value anyhow.

★ ★
ALTHOUGH MR. BROWN dutifully urges that their establishment now in Britain will "poison the atmosphere" in advance of the Summit talks, he makes this point very casually, and it is easy to see why.

Mr. Brown's military considerations about the missile bases apart, within the framework of the policy accepted by both the Conservatives and Labour it is impossible not to agree with Mr. Macmillan that the installation of the bases in Britain will do no more to jeopardise the outcome of the Summit talks than the continued Russian construction of such bases.

The talks will be equally based on threat and counter-threat—in the traditional style of "disarmament" conferences—whether Britain goes into them with the bases in construction or suspended "pending negotiations", with their construction to proceed should the negotiations not prove satisfactory.

There is no difference in principle here.

What would be more likely to bring a dramatic change in the diplomatic atmosphere and a reduction of tension would be a declaration by Britain on the lines urged by Mr. Priestley that its people have had enough of this madness of nuclear weapons and are "through with it".

Fortunately, there is a growing movement—including Victory for Socialism and many Constituency Labour Parties—within the Labour Party which favours complete unilateral nuclear disarmament.

We believe this is what a rapidly increasing number of British people desire.

Two men may change the face of Africa

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

TWO men are travelling Africa on a mission which will change the face of the Continent. They have already gone to Addis Ababa, Cairo, and Tunis and are proceeding to Sudan, Libya, Morocco and Liberia. The two men are Ako Adjet, Ghana's Minister of Justice, and George Padmore, Adviser on African Affairs to Ghana's Prime Minister.

Their purpose is to secure the co-operation of the heads of the independent States in Africa in a Conference to be held in Accra on April 15. This Conference will aim at establishing an Alliance of African Governments to act in common on all matters that concern the continent and to encourage the tendencies towards independence in all the colonial territories.

This preliminary Conference of the African States is to be followed by a Conference of the popular movements not only in those countries which have achieved independence but in territories which are still colonial in status. In other words, the Conference of Governments will be succeeded by a Conference of people in their organised movements in all parts of Africa. It is likely that a number of key people from colonial territories will be at Accra during the States' Conference to make the preparations for the second Conference.

The Peoples' Conference

I have said that the mission of the Ghana representatives may change the face of the Continent. I should say rather that the change is taking place in the minds of statesmen and people all over Africa and that the two conferences which are planned are the organised expression of it.

The eight independent Governments of Africa, excluding only the Union of South Africa, will assert a claim to be regarded as potentially the voice of the continent.

When in two years' time Nigeria becomes independent, the self-governing States will represent half the population of Africa and they will be conscious that they reflect the opinion of the African peoples in the territories not yet independent.

Every issue in Africa will be their concern.

Algeria, Kenya, Central African Federation, and South Africa will become matters not only for the French, British and Union Governments but for the new alliance of the African States. In their co-operation a new Power will emerge in the world.

The Peoples' Conference which will follow will reflect the same Pan-African spirit at the level of the masses. It is appropriate that George Padmore should be one of the two men who are actively promoting the idea. He has for many years been associated with the Pan-African movement. It is still more appropriate that this idea should now be taking practical form in the year when Mr. du Bois, the American Negro "father" of the idea, is celebrating his ninetieth birthday.

Revolutionary change

It is right that West Africa should be the scene of these conferences. The dynamic surge for the liberation of the continent is there. Egypt, Tunisia, Libya and Morocco, along the North Coast, have gained their independence. Algeria is in the throes of the most violent colonial struggle. But they are not Africa; they are not the millions of the dark-skinned races south of the Sahara whom we think of as Africans and who are Africa. It is splendid that the feeling of continental solidarity should be developing between Arabs and Africans. Egypt and the new independent States of the Mediterranean give inspiring strength and example to the rest of Africa.

But if the peoples of the vast territories of French West and Equatorial Africa, British East and Central Africa, the Belgian Congo and Portuguese

Angola and East Africa are to be merged into a united movement for freedom the spur must come from their own people and independent Ghana is now their symbol.

A few weeks ago I wrote of the revolutionary change which is taking place in the national movements of French West and Equatorial Africa and how they are moving from the conception of unity with France to the conception of unity with the rest of Africa. This change has now taken practical form. The three movements in these territories, the *Rassemblement Democratique Africain* (R.D.A.), the *Convention Africain*, and the *Mouvement Socialiste Africain* (M.S.A.), have now decided to unite on a programme of self-government for the eight territories in French West Africa and the four territories of French Equatorial Africa, with Federal African Governments in each area and with the right to opt for independence from France altogether. Meanwhile they are prepared to enter a joint committee with France on defence, foreign affairs and economic co-ordination.

Can delegates attend

This programme is radical but it is itself a compromise. The old guard in these movements are so linked with France that two members of the R.D.A. and one each of the Convention and the M.S.A. are members of the French Government in Paris and have retained their posts even during the colonial war against Algeria. The new element in all three movements is embodied in M. Sekou Toure, who is a Pan-African and who is thinking in terms of a great federation of West and Equatorial Africa which will join together French, British and perhaps Belgian and Portuguese territories. This may seem distant, but the tempo of development in Africa is rapid. The Peoples' Conference which is to be held in Accra will give a great fillip to these tendencies.

One critical issue the Accra Conference will raise. Will delegates from British East and Central Africa and from the French, Belgian and Portuguese territories be permitted to attend? The colonial administrations in British East and Central Africa have refused permission to Africans to attend the recent Cairo Conference and before that the Asian Socialist Conference in Bombay. The French, Belgian and Portuguese Governments are not likely to be more liberal.

If the Colonial Powers should attempt to sabotage the Conference in this way their action would be regarded as a challenge to all Africa, and we could expect the new alliance of the African States to say something about it.

MP's new Bill

In the House of Commons last week the dictatorial interference of British Colonial Governments with freedom of movement was strongly denounced from the Labour benches and Mr. Dingle Foot introduced a Bill giving persons prohibited from leaving or entering colonial territories the right to appeal over the Colonial Governments to a Judicial Tribunal in London. As the territories of Africa become linked, the right to cross frontiers will become of paramount importance.

The Union of South Africa will not be represented at the States' Conference in Accra and its African, Indian and Coloured Movements can only be represented if their delegates cross the frontiers illegally. But even South Africa cannot be isolated from this trend towards continental unity.

The White Settler communities in South Africa, in Central Africa and in Kenya are already beginning to see that their day of privilege will end as the peoples of Africa unite. The new solidarity will not find decisive expression immediately; but with the foundations laid at the Accra Conference the idea will spread with speed because it is in the hearts of all Africans.

Copyright in India and Africa reserved to author.

IRELAND AND NEUTRALITY

By Hubert Butler

Traveller, broadcaster and writer on international affairs, Hubert Butler here analyses his country's unique situation in the modern world and the reasons why it has maintained its independence and neutrality.

DECISIONS about peace and war are always made in capitals, so comments from the provinces can only deal with the temper of mind, which, at long remove, influences such decisions.

Yet the very fact that Ireland's attitude to peace and war is a subject for discussion at all, and cannot be inferred from England's, as can that of Scotland and Wales, is proof of an unquenchable thirst for independence.

This independence was not won by peaceful or wholly honourable methods. As with every small nation struggling to be free, the goal has been reached by a mixture of noble self-sacrifice and vulgar trickery.

Ulysses figures as prominently as Sir Galahad in our fight for freedom.

Conquest not worth the trouble

De Valera took the oath of fealty to King George in order to qualify for Parliament and get the oath abolished. His political rival—outbidding him for popular favour, got into power by the votes of those who favoured the British connection, and then declared an Irish Republic, outside the British Commonwealth. Maybe that is the way small nations must of necessity behave.

By a variety of subterfuges and equivocations and an odd flash of inspiration, I believe a small and powerless nation, which had always valued its freedom, would contrive to retain it.

The Romans were the first to realise the importance of Irish freedom. We read in the "Agricola" of Tacitus:

"I have often heard Agricola say that Ireland could be reduced and held by a single legion and a few auxiliaries, and that the conquest would also pay from the point of view of Britain, if Roman arms were in evidence on every side and liberty vanished off the map."

Yet Irish liberty did not vanish off the map, and maybe Ireland's example encouraged stronger nations to resist absorption.

Somehow the Irish eluded for 1,000 years after Agricola what looked like inevitable conquest. They were not years of peace or prosperity, and they may be said to have dodged conquest rather than repelled it. They succeeded partly because they were intractable, partly because they were remote and insignificant.

Ireland the sceptical onlooker

Even their conquest by the Anglo-Normans brought neither England nor Ireland any lasting profit; and a generation ago that conquest, in its main features, had to be reversed. And not only the English and the Romans, but also Napoleon, the Kaiser and Hitler, in their turn, seem to have found we would not really repay the tedious labour of subjugation.

History has given us a deep-seated conviction, blended of modesty and arrogance, that we are not really worth the bother of annexation.

Thus, our devotion to peace has had little idealism behind it, but is based on the sordid facts of history.

If the Irish had ever once fought a successful war or ever been successfully subdued, we should look at the whole matter quite differently. As it is, we shall—if it is anyway possible—be neutral in the next war as in the last.

Our pulpits and platforms will resound, of course, with denunciations of Communism and appeals to rally to the defence of Christianity and the Free World. But we've heard all this before, and we are sceptical.

Phrases like: "The Collapse of Civilisation," "Abolition of Free Speech," etc., have little magnetism among simple conservative country folk. They realise that even if London burns and skyscrapers totter, cows have to be milked and potatoes sown (in fact, rather more than usual, at an enhanced profit).

There are, of course, peace meetings in Dublin, but they are attended principally by middle-aged Quakers, by foreigners, by two

or three Protestant clergy, who are by no means in favour with the more orthodox members of the flock.

Then there is perhaps a handful of young radicals, who give to the respectable a pretext for saying that the gathering is Communist-inspired.

In this hypothetical crusade it is the border, of course, which will furnish us with the most satisfactory excuse for abstention. How, we ask, can a country engage in war when it is unjustly divided?

Peace practised, if not preached

Just as a festering sore attracts bluebottles, so all who are predatory, pugnacious or vaguely discontented, gather greedily round this grave wound in our society.

There are the Patriotic Bluebottles, who say that those of English blood and sympathies have no right to be in Ireland, yet choose to ignore those 40,000 Irishmen who are emigrating annually and permanently to England.

There are the Holy Bluebottles, who complain that there is discrimination against Roman Catholics in the Six Counties, but who regard as a "peaceful and moderate protest" (I am quoting an eminent Catholic bishop) the ecclesiastically organised boycott of all the Protestants of an area in County Wexford, because one of them infringed the Ne Temere marriage regulations.

To conclude, if war threatens, we shall certainly practise peace, even if we don't preach it.

And though I do not anticipate from Ireland any bold stand for truth or freedom, it might happen, all the same, that our contribution to human freedom would be considerable.

Is it not something that almost alone of the countries of Europe, Ireland has never yet had military conscription?

THE CALL UP

THE Government's White Paper "Call up of men to the Forces, 1957-60," published last year, stated that boys born in the second quarter of 1939 were not likely to be required to register before 1959 and could expect to be called up in 1959 or possibly 1960. The position of those born in the third quarter of 1939 was then uncertain, but if called up it was not expected to be until late in 1959 or 1960.

In answer to a Question in the House of Commons on February 19 the Minister of Labour and National Service, Mr. Iain Macleod, announced that both groups would now be required. Boys born between April 1 and June 30, 1939, will start being called-up "in the later months of this year," instead of as originally envisaged, and those born between July 1 and September 30, 1939, "during 1959."

Registration under the Acts is usually required some little time before the date of call-up and those who apply to be placed on the Provisional Register of Conscientious Objectors can normally expect, unless they are given deferment, to be called before a Local Tribunal several weeks after registering.

At the time of the White Paper last year the Government stated that those born in the fourth quarter of 1939 were not likely to be called upon. The possibility should not, however, be ruled out and the Minister is shortly to be asked to clarify this position.

In the more recent White Paper "Britain's Contribution to Peace and Security," published on February 14, it is stated that "... nothing has happened to lead the Government to ... alter its views about the prospects of recruiting the regulars needed" to bring National Service to an end by December, 1962.

Further details and advice on matters affecting conscientious objectors can be obtained from the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. (EUSon 5501.)

Kirkenes Journey 6

By Gene Sharp

QUISLING ADMITS DEFEAT

NEW READERS BEGIN HERE: Arrested for defying Quisling's Nazification efforts in the schools, hundreds of Norwegian teachers, including Mr. Holmboe, were finally shipped to a camp near the village of Kirkenes far north of the Arctic Circle. From April to June, 1942, they were housed in barracks with hay for bedding.

IN June most of the teachers were moved to another camp which had originally been a silver fox farm. Instead of barracks, they now lived in 17 octagonal huts made of heavy but untreated cardboard with wooden floors.

Only one of them had a window. The roofs were tarred, but when the walls became wet they lost their grip from the frames. The teachers nicknamed the camp *puppenheim*—cardboard home.

A few preferred the fox cages, which consisted of wire netting—top, bottom and

send some by post to his family in southern Norway, where the food shortage was serious.

More, often, however, the teachers did not have enough themselves.

When caught with stolen food, teachers were locked up for a period.

Food-pinching—a morale stimulant

The German soldiers, however, were doing far more stealing than the hungry teachers. Some of the food even reached the black market in Berlin.

The quantities missing became so large that there had to be an investigation. The blame was, of course, put upon the teachers.

They were lined up, and the food found in their quarters was placed before them as they were scolded. During this lecturing one enterprising teacher managed to steal some of the articles which had been placed in front of the line-up.

Mr. Holmboe said that this ability to get away with such "organising" was of greater morale value than food value.

There were also some Russian prisoners at Kirkenes. "They were terribly treated," said Mr. Holmboe. "Some of them were shot."

Effect on the people

While at Kirkenes the teachers did not feel particularly heroic nor much concerned with victory or defeat. They were too much "concerned with immediate affairs."

They were badly equipped for the cold. Some, Mr. Holmboe thought, would have withdrawn their protests after a month or two of this, but after their transit from the south they were given no chance.

While it was thus impossible for them to have given in if they had wanted to, the Norwegian people regarded them as heroes for maintaining their resistance. "In many ways our victory was organised by the enemy," Mr. Holmboe said.

The teachers' deportation to Kirkenes had had an enormous effect on both the Norwegian people and the Quisling régime.

While it consolidated the opposition of the people to the occupation and the puppet government, Quisling and his followers became furious.

Quisling knew that if he took harsher measures against the teachers he might irrevocably increase public antagonism against the regime.

Quisling had good reason to be angry.

'You've destroyed everything'

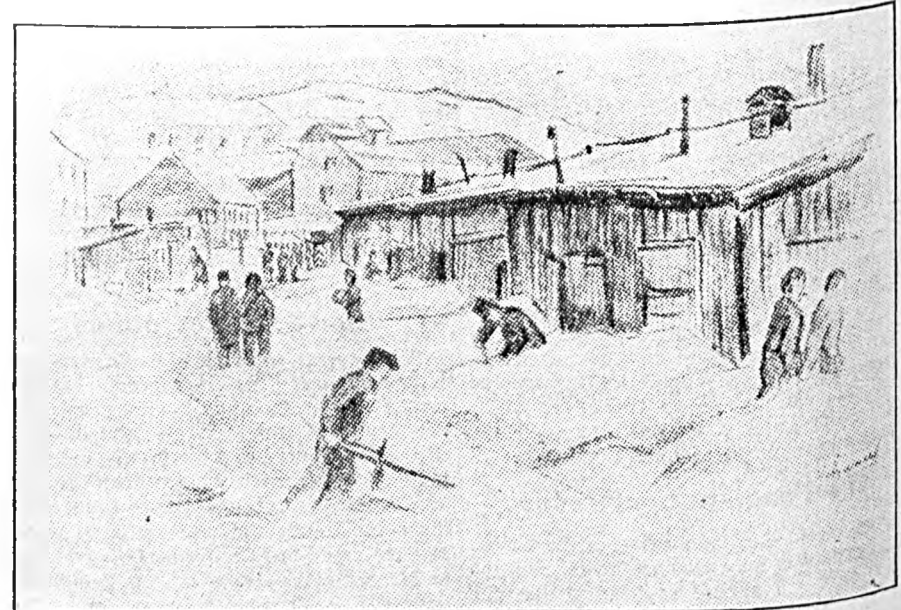
The new teachers' organisation had been the pilot project of his whole plan for instituting the Corporate State, and the teachers had thwarted it.

This was shown better than anywhere



In the barracks at Kirkenes.

George Coxwell, from an original by David Andersen



The stables, in which 300 teachers lived during part of their period at Kirkenes, during a snow storm on June 6, 1942. The entrance gate is seen near the far end of the stables.

H. Anland—Cappelen Publishers

else at the village of Stabekk on May 22.

Vidkun Quisling arrived by car at the Stabekk gymnasium (high school). His Minister of Education and the head of the police for the whole country accompanied him. Twenty members of the Hird (Norwegian Gestapo) surrounded the school.

'Arrest us too'

The teachers were called together. Quisling stormed and raged and shouted at them. His voice could be clearly heard outside the building.

He ended with the words: "You teachers have destroyed everything for me!"

"That sentence was a triumph for us," Mr. Holmboe said. "It became a slogan and was taken up and quoted everywhere afterwards." It meant, he said, the teachers had blocked Quisling's whole plan of organising the new Corporate State.

Quisling ordered the arrest of all the teachers at that school. Next day, a few teachers who had been absent during Quisling's visit, went to the prison where their fellow teachers were held.

"We should be arrested, too," they said. At Kirkenes the days, weeks and months

passed. The brief Arctic summer came and went, and the weather turned cold again.

Next week: The Teachers Return.



Teachers being searched at Kirkenes.

Odd Halsen—Cappelen Publishers

The story of the Norwegian teachers' successful non-violent resistance under Nazi occupation

sides—and a wooden frame. These teachers were regarded as more sporting than the rest.

About 300 others were housed in stables. In the barns there was hardly room even to lie down. Forty slept in a row, with about a foot's width each, so they all had to turn over at once.

Dangerous work

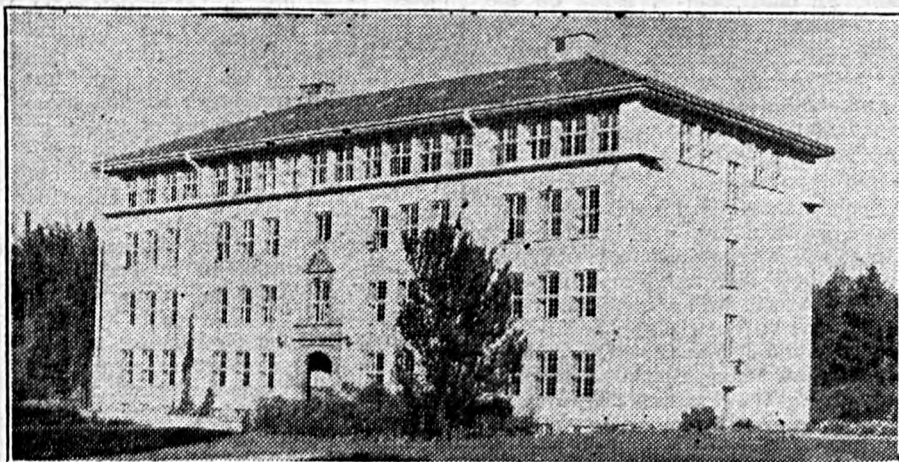
At Kirkenes the teachers were required to work. Despite their lack of experience, they were set to unloading from ships large oil drums and heavy crates of supplies.

These supplies sometimes included ammunition, and there was discussion among the teachers as to whether they ought to do this work. They finally decided, however, to proceed but to "go slow."

They were divided into shifts which worked day and night seven days a week. Considering their lack of training it was extremely risky; one teacher was killed, two men lost an eye each, one broke a leg and both arms.

Part of this work involved unloading supplies of food for the German troops and putting it into storage. This provided opportunities for supplementing the meagre coarse rations. They "organised" food and even brought some back to those who were unable to work through illness.

The "organised" food varied greatly in quality and quantity, but sometimes there was even chocolate, butter, cigarettes and jam. One teacher even managed to get someone from the village of Kirkenes to



The high school at Stabekk, where Quisling admitted defeat, as it appears today. Although remodelled after a fire in 1954, its appearance is basically the same as it was in 1942.

"Non-violence and Social Change"

"NON-VIOLENCE and Social Change" is the theme of ten lectures to be given in London during March, April, May and June by Gene Sharp, M.A., the Assistant Editor of Peace News. The series is sponsored by The 1957 Committee.

Mr. Sharp's Masters thesis at the Ohio State University was on the sociology of non-violence. During the past year he has spent two months doing research and lecturing on non-violent resistance at the University of Oslo.

In June Mr. Sharp, an American, is beginning a two-year doctoral research project on totalitarianism and non-violent re-

sistance at the Institute for Social Research in Oslo.

His series will deal with such subjects as "The types of non-violence," "The contribution of M.K. Gandhi," "The key to the removal of war and tyranny," "Mass movements," "Non-violent resistance," "Unarmed strategy," "The constructive programme," and "Freedom, defence and non-violent resistance."

The series will be given on consecutive Sundays (excepting Easter and Whit Sunday) from 4 p.m. to 7 p.m., commencing on March 23. The first two lectures will be held at the Ivanhoe Hotel, Bloomsbury St., London, W.C.1.

Further details will appear in Peace News shortly.

Public moving towards disarmament

— FRANK ALLAUN, MP

TO build H-bomb missile bases in Britain is worse than folly, it is sheer madness, said Mr. Frank Allaun, Labour M.P. for Salford East at a meeting of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in Warrington on February 23.

He was referring to the debate in Parliament last week which was to decide whether missile bases are to be built in this country.

Speaking to an audience of about 60 people in the Friends Meeting House, Mr. Allaun said the problem of nuclear weapons was the "biggest of the century."

"Something big is starting in this country," he said, "and I suggest that leaders of all parties sit up and take notice. The public are moving, and moving fast, towards disarmament."

After emphasising the "horrible and filthy" effects of Strontium 90, Mr. Allaun continued: "The world is waiting for one great nation to have the courage and sanity to say that they are contracting out of this race for H-bombs"—England should be that nation.

Other countries like Norway and Sweden had the sense to refuse rocket bases and the British Government had put us right into the front line by accepting them, he said.

HOW NOT TO GO TO CONFERENCES

He urged everyone to do all in their power towards nuclear disarmament: write to the Prime Minister, to MPs, voice opinions at trade union meetings and other organisations, and if they felt so inclined join the four-day anti-nuclear march from London at Easter.

The other speaker was Mr. Denis Wrigley (prospective Liberal candidate for Knutsford), who said "we have got to be blunt. Any man or woman who supports a nuclear policy is in fact supporting the type of policy that helped Hitler and Mussolini into power."

Referring to conferences, he said it was no good going to a conference with Russia and holding a weapon behind our backs. Success was not achieved by holding the "Sword of Damocles" over people's heads.

Britain should disarm and give to the world a moral leadership.

Chairman was Mr. C. W. Sharman, who said it was "astonishing" that the Conservative party felt it could not contribute a speaker at the meeting.

It was decided by the meeting that a comprehensive anti-nuclear resolution should be sent to all large organisations in this country.

Mabel Eyles and Partners (Employment Agency) Limited, 305 Hornsey Road, London, N.19. (Arc. 1765 or Mou. 1761).

THE ADOPTION OF VEGETARIANISM

is an essential step towards unity of life and world harmony

READ

THE VEGETARIAN

WORLD FORUM

which is the only magazine of its kind—standing for living reform from the vegetarian point of view—stressing the sacredness of life and working for the brotherhood of man.

Quarterly 1s. 6d. per copy (Postage 2d.)

Annual Subscription 6s. 8d., post free

(USA and Canada \$1)

Stocked by leading Health Food Stores or Newsmagazines or direct from the publishers:

GEORGE L. RUDD LTD.

106/110 Lordship Lane, London, S.E.22

FREE COPY SENT ON REQUEST

Dr. MacLEOD'S PROTEST

● FROM PAGE ONE

regretted very much the absence of the Unionist Association from the platform. "I am convinced there are hundreds of thousands of Conservatives who, like members of the Labour Party, are objecting to this nuclear threat at the present time. I think it would be a thousand pities if it were attached to any one political party or platform."

"If the Unionist Association go on persuading, either in personal boycotting or in disciplining their members not to speak on open platforms such as this, then they must not complain if this movement becomes attracted to the other political parties. They must not complain that others are making a party issue of it when we are seeking to make a national issue of it."

Dr. MacLeod referred to an "amazing meeting" in London on February 17 when 5,000 people gathered together in a series of halls and where the collection was nearly £2,000. He believed there was an opportunity for people to rise up everywhere and demand that some political party—or, please God, all political parties—were going to take some really definite initiative in stopping the horrors before us at the present time.

The meeting, he said, was not reported in The Times. "I don't mind that, but I do object, if they are not going to report this meeting, to any pomposity about being the guardians of the liberties of the people. As Moderator, I would say that obscurantism must be opposed by the Church."

If the Press did not report such meetings the movement might be prevented from being what it looked like becoming—a magnificent bubbling-up and expression of the will of the people against the nuclear horror.

What have Churchmen to say?

Speaking of Mr. Butler's speech at the Glasgow Rectorial installation, Dr. MacLeod said that 100 per cent of the people in Edinburgh regretted the reception Mr. Butler had been given, and 99 and a half per cent of the people in Glasgow also regretted it. But he personally was glad that one sentence had not been heard.

"It was in the document he gave to the Press in which he said that 'you as Scots will comprehend that the risk of destruction is less to be dreaded than the shame of slavery.'"

"These are the terms in which the politician—the sincere man—can speak. It used to be of the 'fruits of victory,' but now no one can talk of that. There is no possibility of fruits of victory for anyone."

"So now there is being presented either the risk of destruction or the shame of slavery. The bankruptcy of our time. It is atheism to place before men only these two alternatives."

"If the Church believes in the sovereignty of God—that is not an empty ecclesiastical phrase—then there must be presented before men something other than these awful alternatives."

Were Churchmen just going to sit back and have nothing to say? If they had nothing to say, then what was all the talk

Island of conscience?

By Mavis James

BY the numbers of Jamaican conscientious objectors appearing before the Tribunals in recent months it would appear that Jamaica is a land of conscientious peace-lovers.

Kenneth Gammons, forthright and respected witness for members of the Seventh Day Adventists, was recently asked by the London Tribunal the reasons for the influx of so many Jamaican COs, nearly all of whom were Seventh Day Adventists.

Mr. Gammons replied that this was a result of the work of missionaries, and that there now is a Church at every half-mile of the island.

Seventh Day Adventists are generally given conditional exemption by the Tribunal. Their belief that no work ought to be done on the Sabbath (Saturday) makes it impossible for them to be a part of the Army.

about the Christian West with its high ideals?

"I believe the first stage is a national rising from every Party demanding the initiative by Britain against the nuclear threat."

Professor C. H. Waddington, Professor of Animal Genetics, Edinburgh University, said that there was a perfectly real possibility of eliminating the whole human race if a nuclear war were fought to the finish. That possibility had never faced mankind before.

Halt the nuclear arms race

Science had begun now to gain control of the energy-producing processes of nature—fundamental processes which released energy in the same way that the sun did. There was no other great source of energy open to scientists. These enormous resources of energy could be made available to the population of the world to raise their living standards.

The West was now ahead of the rest of the world in the pursuit of this. Now the rest of the world could see that within a generation or so they could achieve a standard of living comparable with that enjoyed at present by Western Europe.

In preparations for war the attention of the scientist was being diverted from this really important purpose. Of all countries in the world he thought Britain was in a specially favourable position to initiate a change of direction.

"The real struggle is between the United States and the Soviet Union. We in Great

March 7, 1958—PEACE NEWS—7

Haldane's warning

PROFESSOR J. B. S. HALDANE said in Calcutta on February 15 that he thought that powerful nations who were responsible for atomic bomb tests were not sufficiently encouraging research on the long-range effects of radiation on human health.

Professor Haldane, now working with the Indian Statistical Institute, was lecturing on "The Genetic Effects of Quanta and Particles of High Energy."

Britain are the next most important power.

"We are the only other nuclear power, and it seems to me that if we took the first step towards calling a halt to the present nuclear arms race it would have a tremendous moral effect on the rest of the world."

Other speakers at the meeting were Mr. J. P. Mackintosh, prospective Labour candidate for the Pentlands Division of Edinburgh; Mr. Richard T. McPake, Secretary of the Scottish Liberal Party; and Dr. Robert McIntyre, President of the Scottish National Party.

A resolution "strongly urging HM Government to take the initiative among the nations in working for nuclear disarmament" was passed almost unanimously. The chairman, the Rev. David Levison, said it would be sent to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Defence, the Foreign Minister and Members of Parliament.

THE MONTGOMERY STORY

8.

Until they were shown greater respect during travel, the Negroes of the city of Montgomery, Alabama, under the leadership of Negro minister Martin Luther King decided to boycott the segregated buses. The story as related by an anonymous Negro told how the Negroes, despite provocation, were urged to love their enemies.



BUT NOW IT WAS DIFFERENT FOR ALL OF US. WE ALL JUST SMILED. AND THAT DID SOMETHING TO THE MAN WHO SHOUTED. THE NEWSPAPER FELLOWS TOOK HIS PICTURE...



ON ANOTHER BUS, SOMEONE SLAPPED A WOMAN.



ON DECEMBER 21, WE WENT BACK ON THE BUSES. SOMEONE SHOUTED VILE AND ABUSIVE WORDS AT A YOUNG FELLOW WHO WAS GETTING ON THE BUS.



ONE BUS DRIVER MADE A WOMAN PAY HER FARE TWICE.



AT FIRST, A FEW BUSES ON NIGHT RUNS WERE PEPPERED WITH SHOTGUN BLASTS.



Prepared by the Al Capp Organisation for the US Fellowship of Reconciliation. The complete story in booklet form is being distributed at 10 cents each in the USA: Box 271, Nyack, N.Y.

'Courage—or calculations'

MAY I applaud your magnificent editorial "Courage—or Calculations?"

You voice the fundamental disagreement of thousands of people with the policy statement of the new "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament."

The remedy is simple.

If the Committee of the Campaign will not change their policy statement to express our aims, let us forget their statement and their policy. Replace it with our own.

G. PETCH, 22 Lanchester Road, Highgate, London, N.6.

THANK you for your leader re the Westminster assemblies to protest against the manufacture of nuclear weapons.

Is it not a correct analogy to Mr. A. J. P. Taylor's challenge about pressing the button to suggest that each voter at the polling booth, and MP in the House, who has voted for the provision of funds and personnel to manufacture and train in the use of nuclear and conventional weapons has pressed the first of the necessary series of buttons?

It is only by supporting such candidates as Sir Richard Acland in 1955 that pacifists can claim to be on the way to "Total Peace." Otherwise they substitute calculations for courage.—**CHAS. H. HAWORTH**, 6 The Cottages, Lewes Road, Polegate, Sussex.

Sunday Times on the H-bomb

NOTHING has revealed more conclusively the weakness of the position of those who uphold Britain's participation in nuclear warfare than the feeble leading article in the Sunday Times of March 2, entitled "The Great H-bomb Divide."

First it admitted that the public was against both political parties on the subject of the H-bomb and nuclear missile sites, showing that despite the Government being elected by the people, it quite clearly does not, in this case, represent the will of the people, and so is not democratic.

Then it took the opposing opinions one by one exposing their fallacies, but completely ignored the pacifist viewpoint which it evidently did not feel capable of demolishing.

It then posed the question of when nuclear defence should be used, giving as the answer "to stop a worse consequence." But what conceivably worse consequence to the people concerned could there be than the radio-active dump to which sane and knowledgeable men like Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall have told us Britain would be reduced?—**ESME WYNNE-TYSON**, Claryn, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

Downing St. demonstration

PARTICIPANTS in demonstrations, such as that against nuclear armament in Downing St. recently, naturally have no guarantee that their non-violent protest will be met non-violently. It is evident that considerable group and individual self-discipline is called for on such occasions.

In order that such methods as were used by the police in Downing St. may in future stand yet more obviously self-condemned, even the chanting of slogans may often prove inappropriate. A quiet procession, terminating in a brief vigil of silence, would not only be less productive of heated emotions (and of alsatians) but might be more effective in exemplifying the way of peace. The aims of such a protest could be explained by posters or by an appointed spokesman.

Maybe, however, it takes a certain amount of noise to attract the attention of the Press! One has considerable respect and sympathy for those who did so by suffering injury, insult or arrest.

People should not soon be allowed to forget how British and other men and women were treated last week in the heart of Britain's capital.—**JOHN H. JONES**, "The Retreat," Redcliffe Bay, Portishead, Near Bristol.

Research in plant freaks

WITH the discovery by the US Atomic Energy Commission that fallout from nuclear tests concentrates in bands on the high air streams in the Northern Hemisphere, explaining the patches of Strontium 90 on the western slopes of the Welsh hills, it is urgent that cheap and simple methods should be devised to track these drifts, and

to draw public attention to what is happening.

The small rise in plant freaks in two types with an unknown cause in 1956, followed by a large increase in 1957, appears to agree in distribution with the bands.

This Association is endeavouring to gather the evidence in the face of the desperate scepticism of modern science. If we are wrong, then research can only solve several neglected mysteries of biology.

We are a team of voluntary research workers in the field of fodder crops and composting, financed on a shoestring. To gather the evidence in the field of observing what may be a natural "distant early warning system," we need the help of some determined pacifists as observers, especially those willing to translate French or German. We need the co-operation of some international body, or peace organisation, and would be glad to hear from scientific groups, especially from biologists, who have protested against nuclear weapons.

We would be glad to forward a simple account, written for amateur gardeners, of our research so far to anyone who is interested and sends a stamped addressed envelope. It is, however, help that we need.—**LAWRENCE D. HILLS**, Hon. Org. Sec., Henry Doubleday Research Assn., Bocking, Braintree, Essex.

Peace News and Liberal Party

DURING the past year, as the Liberal vote in by-elections has increased, Peace News has seen fit to attack the Liberal Party on many occasions, on its policy on nuclear disarmament and other pacifist angles.

I am a member of the Liberal Party and also a pacifist. I believe the H-bomb is a weapon of the devil and should be fought with all the power we have at hand. This view is shared by many of my colleagues within the Party, and the official view of the Liberal Party is that Britain should begin by stopping nuclear weapon tests. Mr. Grimond has called for the banning of nuclear weapons.

Your attacks do great harm to those fighting for peace inside the Party, as your attacks on the Labour Party hurt pacifists within their ranks. Sneers at the winner and runner-up in the Rochdale by-election do not help the cause of peace.—**ALISTAIR GRAHAM**, Perrymead St., Fulham, London, S.W.6.

Afraid of peace

AT last you have said in print what has been in the minds of all thinking people for years, something which should be preached and shouted from the house-tops. That the West is afraid of peace. The Right because of the "big money boys" and the armament industry and the Left because of Trade Union pressure. Well, cut out this silly "defence" programme and with this huge saving of money they could compensate the workers displaced until "peace production" was in full swing.

There is only one doubt in my mind, and it is this: I feel convinced that if any government came into power with this programme and tried to carry it out the military would take over, the Communist bogey would be used, and we should pay the price of these years of "defence" preparations bunk.—**C. F. BAUSE**, 11 Fellbrook Avenue, Acomb, York.

Renounce all weapons

DO not let us forget our pledge, "I renounce war." Dick Sheppard, in his wisdom, made no mention of any particular weapon. Today "I renounce the H-bomb" would seem to be the cry, suggesting that pacifism allows armaments to a certain extent, suggesting, too, that once war is begun both sides can choose their weapons.

This is not the case. The most devastating are invariably used, as Japan can testify. We must not, with cries of "Ban the H-bomb," delude the unthinking into believing otherwise. The words on apartheid of the new Archbishop of Cape Town, quoted in this week's Peace News, apply to pacifism. "At this moment in our history quality is infinitely more significant than quantity."

Since God, the Creator, has made it plain that nothing less than "Goodwill to men" is acceptable to Him, before He sends the peace for which all men long, we must, to gain that peace, show the goodwill He demands by the entire renunciation of all

LETTERS

war, and all weapons. Christ never compromised.—**WINIFRED GREENFIELD**, 16a, Hillside Gardens, London, N.6.

Pilgrimage

HEMLATA DEVI (PN Feb. 7) wrote to you when she was in our home about the Algerian problem and a pilgrimage from Austria towards Yugoslavia, Italy, Switzerland to Paris.

Now things have happened in Tunis and some of us feel that we would rather suggest a pilgrimage being started at once from all the French borders (Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland and Belgium) to Paris to support the French people of good will and the new organisation Secours aux Objecteurs de Conscience. Arriving in Paris in August would be too late perhaps and unlikely to arouse interest.—**LEO AND MARTA BACHLER-GYSIN**, Riedstrasse, 16, Kriens, Luzern, Switzerland.

C.O. memorial

PERCY DAVIES, and others who worked on the Newhaven-Seaford road in 1916-7 will regret, I am sure, to learn that when I visited the site last summer for the express purpose of photographing the "Writing on the Wall", I found the section containing the monoscript lying prone and smashed—probably inadvertently by a bulldozer, or other of the heavy mechanical vehicles engaged on seawall reconstruction.

It is interesting to recall that during the building of the wall, the built-in legend was skilfully concealed with a film of cement over the faces of the split flints in which the letters were formed, but when, at the conclusion of the work, this concealing film was removed, and the letters (about a foot high) revealed, the wall workers were made by the authorities of the job to re-efface them.

It remained, however, a secret obligation of honour that whoever was last on the scene there should once again expose the memorial, and this was duly done. It was realised, I think, by the owners of "The Buckle Inn" whose land the wall surrounded, that it constituted a feature much more of historical interest than shame, and it was thereafter allowed to remain. I have many times gazed on it with nostalgic pride.

Incidentally, the date was 1917, not 1916. I regret my photograph of the sad end of the memorial is not suitable to reproduce in print.

Would every C.O. who was at Denton Camp, 1916-17, please send me a post card giving present address, and as much autobiographical matter as he can cram into the space? I would endeavour to re-establish lost contacts.—**ERNEST H. LAWES**, 49 Thurleigh Road, S.W.12.

Less cruelty

WHILST Secretary of the National Society for Lunacy Law Reform, I came across much evidence of cruelty to patients, but recently there has been considerable improvement in this respect.

The new Bill to ensure more care in certification is also to be welcomed.

The patient is entitled to protection against the risk of "improper detention," which was admitted by the Royal Commission.—**FRANCIS J. WHITE**, Little Dene, St. Mawes, Truro.

Mental hospitals

I AM sure readers of PN will sympathise with Mr. David Sharpe (Feb. 14) in his concern for the mentally ill and in his general protest against maltreatment in any form; but I cannot help feeling that his letter on mental hospitals leaves your readers with a one-sided and misleading picture altogether unfair to mental hospital staff in general.

I am not myself connected in any way with mental hospital administration and have therefore no personal "axe" to grind. My position is that of an academic psychologist who has visited mental hospitals on a number of occasions as a student and as a teacher.

As a result of these visits I find it quite impossible to believe that brutalities such as those described by Mr. Sharpe are at all widespread. If they are, one would have to postulate systematic deception of visitors—by psychiatrists, social workers, and nurses alike—on an enormous and elaborate scale; this hypothesis seems to me so patently silly as not to be worth considering.

I have met plenty of patients who believed

they were being maltreated; and I do not doubt that those with even a slight tendency to such belief may often make mountains out of molehills and circulate stories whose bases in reality are altogether flimsy. After all, such distortion is not uncommon even outside mental hospitals, and we need to be extremely hesitant in taking these stories at their face value.

The view that mental hospitals in general are sinister and brutal places seems to me one of those popular fantasies arising from ignorance and fear; and it is of crucial importance at the present time that such fantasies should be recognised for what they are.—**T. R. MILES**, Lecturer in Psychology, University College of North Wales, Bangor.

Prisoners for Peace Day

THE Victorian Pacifist Movement celebrated "Prisoners for Peace Day" in Melbourne with a social gathering at which about 25 people sent off 212 Christmas cards to men in prison. One of our Polish friends was able to add a Polish greeting to all appropriate names.

The main feature of the evening was "Voices from Prison," being a dramatic reading for several voices based on extracts from letters by COs over the years, as quoted by War Resisters' International publications. Beginning with a music-hall song of 1916, the programme ended with reports of their recent work by Danilo Dolci, Eileen Fletcher and Bayard Rustin.

We are truly grateful to the War Resisters' International for sending us such striking material so faithfully for so long.—**JIM NEWELL**, Literature Secretary, 48 Spencer Road, E. Camberwell, Melbourne, Australia.

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday, March 9

32 Tavistock Square, Euston

Rev. W. J. Piggott MA

"Our Fellow Pilgrims, the Animal Races"

Looking for a good holiday...

You will really feel at home with

Peace News Advertisers

Maps and holiday reading from

Housmans Bookshop
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

**BUILD YOUR FUTURE**

Wisely • Safely

Let Your Money Earn

4% FREE OF INCOME TAX

Interest accrues from date of investment

"Guide for Investors" sent on request

ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

For Social Saving

Total assets exceed £2,000,000

200, Finchley Road, London, N.W.3

EVERY NUCLEAR TEST KILLS

Nobel scientist on radiation effects

Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel Prize-winner for Chemistry, 1954, is chairman of the Division of Chemistry and Chemical Engineering at California Institute of Technology.

In two recent articles—in "Liberation" of February, and "I. F. Stone's Weekly" of February 24—he answers those scientists and politicians who try to minimise the harm done to human health by the nuclear tests. A summary of his articles is given below.

THE petition recently sent to the UN from 9,235 scientists of 44 nations, including 36 Nobel Laureates, has met with some reaction from those scientists who still support the tests.

As a result, says Dr. Pauling, some dangerously misleading statements have appeared in the American Press lately regarding the effects of these tests.

Dishonesty . . . unethical distortion

Further, he believes that one reason why that appeal was so widely supported by scientists was "the widespread belief among scientists that the Atomic Energy Commission has not been honest with the public in its pronouncements about the biological effects of fall-out radio-activity."

He notes in particular one article, in "Life," February 10, on "The Compelling Need for Nuclear Tests," by two scientists, which he says contains "unethical distortions . . . unworthy of a scientist."

His charge is that such statements, the object of which is to show that the danger from radio-active fall-out is overrated, are misleading because, even when they state facts, they do not tell the whole story.

For example, they give the small increase in the number of births of defective children, but give no estimate of the increased number that may be expected to result from the tests, or the cumulative harm of various kinds that threatens present and future generations.

Again, they emphasise the difficulty of pinpointing specific cases of disease directly due to the tests, but omit to point out that the chief danger is not the harm done by the tests alone, but the fact that the tests add to and multiply diseases already existing through other causes.

All scientists agree, says Dr. Pauling, that even the tests that are now being made are harmful because they spread an added burden of radio-active elements to that amount of radiation which is always active over the world by natural causes.

The only contestable questions are: What is the nature and extent of the harm, and is it small enough to be dismissed as "negligible"?

The genetic effects

Dr. Pauling then discusses the various estimates that have been made of the genetic damage (danger to future generations), the causation of disease, and the decrease of life expectancy.

The effects of radiation are different in their nature from those of ordinary poisons.

A small amount of an ordinary chemical poison does no harm; but even a very small amount of radiation may harm a person in such a way as to cause him to die or have a seriously defective child.

Among the billions of molecules in each cell of the human body there are a few very important ones. These govern the

behaviour of the cell and control the manufacture of other molecules and the process by which a cell divides to form new cells, and determine the nature of the children born to that person.

If one of these special cells is damaged by a single tiny "bullet" of radiation from a single radio-active atom it may be changed in such a way that the cell divides more rapidly than the other cells in the body.

This will then produce a colony of rapidly dividing cells, and the person may die of leukaemia, bone cancer, or other cancer caused by a single radio-active atom.

That is why even the admittedly small amounts of radio-active atoms (e.g., Strontium 90 Caesium 137) being spread over the world by the tests, can cause a person to die and have defective children.

Probable estimate of deaths

Prof. E. B. Lewis, Dr. Pauling's colleague in Pasadena, has estimated that the evidence of leukaemia due to radiation is 2,000,000 per rad-year (rad—radiation unit).

That means about 15 per cent of the people who die of leukaemia (the total being about 150,000 a year) die because of the action of cosmic rays and natural radio-activity.

We cannot escape these natural radiations. Most of the rest of the cases of leukaemia may be attributed to heredity or undiscovered chemical causes.

But now people are also dying of leukaemia caused by man-made radiation, including that of the fall-out of nuclear tests.

Those who support the tests say that this added number is negligible. Dr. Pauling therefore makes some calculations.

The Report of the USA National Academy of Sciences estimates that the 30-year dose of fall-out radiation is about one-tenth rad.

Assuming this is effective for 30 years in each person's life, giving three rad-years, he calculates that the fall-out from the tests will cause about 15,000 people now living to die of leukaemia.

Again, from the study of mortality curves, Prof. Hardin Jones of California concludes that the effect of radiation in decreasing life expectancy is two weeks per rad.

From this Dr. Pauling calculates that the tests will have an effect on the health of people now living equivalent to causing 1,000,000 people to die ten years earlier than if the tests were not made.

In addition, there is the effect on the pool of human germ plasm.

Are these people negligible

There is close agreement among scientists that about 10 per cent of the seriously defective children born annually are defective because of bad genes caused by background (natural) radiation.

Ten per cent is about 150,000.

From the estimates of American geneticists reported by the Committee of the National Academy of Sciences, Dr. Pauling calculates that the probable effect of the present rate of bomb tests would probably be to increase the number of seriously defective children born each year by 5,000.

"Now we may ask," he says, "are these effects negligible?"

"It is true they represent only a small fractional increase, perhaps as small as one per cent, in the deaths by . . . disease and in the number of infants born with serious mental and physical defects. But I believe that every human being is important."

He quotes Schweitzer: "A humanitarian is a man who believes that no human being should be sacrificed to a project"; and adds—"especially to a project of perfecting nuclear weapons to kill hundreds of millions of people."

As examples of the extraordinary arguments put forward in support of continuing the tests, Dr. Pauling quotes two scientists.

One is Prof. Pitzer, Dean of the College of Chemistry of California University. In a letter to Dr. Pauling, Prof. Pitzer said the tests were necessary to improve their nuclear weapons, and added:

"The risks to human life from nuclear bomb tests are very small—much smaller than the risks we take in our everyday living."

The same strange logic was exhibited by Dr. W. F. Libby, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, who said the number of deaths from nuclear tests was small compared with the 40,000 American people annually killed in road accidents.

The logical implication of that argument, says Dr. Pauling, is that it's all right to carry on bomb tests so long as the number of Americans killed by the tests is less than the number killed by motor accidents.

WHAT IF A METEORITE FALLS?

A FALLING meteorite might cause the extermination of the human race by setting off atomic warfare.

So thinks Dr. H. H. Nininger, of Arizona, head of the American Meteorite Museum, as reported by the Washington Conscription News.

It might easily be mistaken, he says, for an inter-Continental ballistic missile.

Such a danger is all the greater because so little is known about meteorites by those whose duty it is to maintain vigilance regarding aircraft.

Pilots occasionally mistake fireballs for burning planes or report them as unidentified flying objects, says Dr. Nininger. Military personnel on sentry and look-out duty report flying saucers and unidentified radar blips. Civil air patrols are sent in search of falling planes where none exist.

Education urgently needed

In the present state of world-wide mounting anxiety, Dr. Nininger thinks, such errors, hitherto dangerous only to a few, become an increasing menace to peace.

"A meteorite could explode to-day over Los Angeles," he says, "and we might find ourselves involved in war before the true identity of the object was ascertained."

Dr. Nininger thinks it is urgent that all military defence personnel and radar technicians should be thoroughly familiarised with the known auditory and visual characteristics of falling meteorites as distinct from those of ballistic missiles.

A programme of education in the subject, he suggests, might be of more value than a lot of peace talk and defence expenditure.

PROVOCATION

How spies and lies keep up the tension

THE dangerously irresponsible methods by which Western espionage and secret service agencies obtain information of the potential enemy's resources are unknown to the general public.

Such incidents arising therefrom which do get known are perverted to propaganda uses by deliberate distortion and mis-reporting.

And the public, indoctrinated with the belief that the cold war is a simple matter of Virtue (West) v. Vice (East), accept it all without question.

An article in the special H-bomb issue of the Oxford University magazine "Isis" describes one variety of these activities—"Frontier incidents."

'Incidents' deliberately provoked

These, it points out, are invariably reported as unwarrantable attacks by Russian fighters "on innocent Western aircraft peacefully cruising well within their own frontiers, or, sometimes, having accidentally 'lost their way.'"

The truth is very different. Their purpose is to incite the Russians to expose their defences in order to obtain information about them.

"All along the East-West frontier," continues the article, "from Iraq to the Baltic . . . are monitoring stations manned largely by National Servicemen trained in Morse and Russian, avidly recording the least squeak from Russian transmitters—ships, tanks, planes, troops, control stations."

"This flagrant breach of the Geneva Convention can, it is believed, provide accurate estimates of the size and type of Russian armaments and troops, and the nature of their tactical methods."

To any lengths of deception

To get this information the West has been willing to go to extraordinary lengths of deception. British Embassies usually contain monitoring spies. When the Fleet paid a "goodwill" visit to Danzig in 1955 they were on board.

"And since the Russians do not always provide the required messages they are sometimes provoked: a plane 'loses its way,' while behind the frontier tape recorders excitedly read the irritated exchanges of Russian pilots, and when the latter sometimes force the aeroplane to land, an international incident is created, and reported in the usual way. The famous Lancaster bomber incident in Berlin was deliberately provoked in this way."

"In a moment of crisis, irresponsibility of this kind could well frighten the Russians into war. . . ."

Violating international conventions

Perhaps the best example of their activities, according to the article, is in the Baltic, and in this connection it relates some extraordinary cases. It says:

"After the war a fleet of half-a-dozen fast Mercedes-Benz torpedo-type boats were built and, manned by sailors from Hitler's navy, were sent under English captains to listen to the Russians."

"They would head ships for the Russian fleet at exercise and circle round a battleship taking photographs. When they had succeeded in concentrating all the guns of the fleet and recorded enough messages, they fled. When in Swedish waters, contrary to all international conventions, they flew the Swedish flag."

"One British captain . . . so far exceeded the normal practice, which was merely to enter Russian territorial waters, as to go into Leningrad Harbour, and on another occasion to land a small party in Russia."

"It is incredible that this should have been allowed," concludes the article, "but the irresponsibility bred and sheltered by the Official Secrets Act is uncontrollable."



The Rev. Donald Soper answered questions recently at an informal "Any Questions" evening at the Kingsway Coffee House, Kingsway, London. Dr. Soper dealt with such topics as Cyprus, advertising, the Welfare State, unilateral disarmament, and AID in the hour's discussion.

Experiment with tyranny

But the book does not warrant attention merely because of the odd circumstances surrounding its writing and the cause which it is helping. It is also a most readable, entertaining, informative and vivid portrayal of the infamous and bizarre treason trial and of South African racial politics.

South Africa is turning itself into a police state, and this trial is its Reichstag Fire. But as yet the South African version of the police state lacks the cold efficiency of the German or Russian varieties. It is undermined by the naïveté, the essential innocence (despite their racial arrogance, bigotry and obscurantism) of the Afrikaner Nationalists.

To Lionel Forman, who wrote the bulk of this book, and his fellow victims, we owe a not inconsiderable debt, for they have done a splendid job of exposing the farce in the Pretoria Drill Hall (and I am particularly glad to be able to say this because I am an old acquaintance of Lionel Forman and have opposed his politics for almost as long as I have known

QUOTES OF NOTE

Diplomatic blunder

"One example: The high dam at Aswan in Egypt. Abrupt withdrawal by the British and Americans of their proposed help for this scheme began a series of Western failures in policy which has resulted in deep Soviet penetration of the Middle East.

"This withdrawal was dictated by Mr. Dulles. His mistake was in under-estimating Egypt's Nasser. Egypt could be brought to heel by refusing funds for the Aswan dam, Mr. Dulles assumed.

"The incident typifies the Dulles diplomacy of bluff and bluster.

"Mr. Eisenhower obviously isn't going to fire Mr. Dulles. But Mr. Dulles, if he is

BOOKS

him). I hope that one result of this trial may be to impress upon the opponents of the South African colour bar (no less than upon its supporters) the lesson that tyranny is, ultimately, a useless weapon, whether it is employed for good ends or bad, and that it can most effectively be fought, as it is fought in this book, by ridicule, non-co-operation and the assertion of freedom.

All about communities

Communities And Their Development, by
T. R. Batten. London, Oxford University
Press, 15s.

THE author of this worthy handbook on community work is Senior Lecturer and Supervisor of Studies in Community Development in the University of London Institute of Education.

He undoubtedly knows and understands the problems which face workers among primitive communities in their attempt to arouse interest in hygiene, welfare, the maintenance and extension of services, education, literacy, agricultural improvement, and so forth.

His sympathy both with them and with the "backward" villagers is notable and his learning and experience are profound. His book is, certainly, a "must" for all community workers whether in Uganda, India or East London. They should be warned, however, that it is also appallingly dull. It is written in a manner so dry, in a style so flat, that concentration for more than a few minutes is an effort.

I suspect that this almost unmitigated dreariness arises from the author's abstract approach. He has distilled the experience of many years and many countries into this book. In the process something, some living quality which must make community work satisfying and thrilling, has been lost. Only the most enthusiastic reader will wade through to the end of paragraphs beginning: "It is always worth remembering that the community primarily a social group . . ." or "Most people are greatly influenced by group opinion . . ." which is a pity, as the lessons to be learned are many and worthwhile.

OF NOTE

as wise as his chief thinks him, will resign soon—soon enough to prevent the Western alliance from drifting further and further apart out of distrust of his diplomatic blundering.—*Vancouver Sun*, a leading Canadian newspaper, Jan. 16, 1958.

Under pressure

"EVER since his sensational speech here in Washington calling for 'peaceful accommodation' instead of a missile race, General Omar Bradley has been under pressure to back-track on sentiments so contrary to the dominant views of the State and Defence Department." In an interview with the Chicago Tribune published on Jan. 31, Gen. Bradley said he had been accused of being a pacifist (perhaps the hardest accusation for an old soldier to bear), but nevertheless repeated his warnings."—*I. F. Stone's Weekly*, Feb. 10. (Gen. Bradley's speech was quoted at length in *Peace News*, Dec. 6, 1957.)

CLASSIFIED

mittee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia
\$5 year \$1 three months.

Every week !

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site.
Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist
ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends' Mtg. Ho., Bash Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards: Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Selling.

PEACE NEWS STANDARD RATES
 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4
Great Britain and Abroad (Sea Mail)
 Three months 8s.; six months 16s.; one year 30s.
AIRMAIL SUBSCRIPTION RATES
N. Africa and Middle East
 Three months 8s. 8d.; six months 17s. 4d.;
 one year 34s.
India, South, East and West Africa
America and South-East Asia
 Three months 9s. 9d.; six months 19s. 6d.;
 one year 38s.
Australia and Far East
 Three months 10s. 10d.; six months 21s. 4d.;
 one year 42s.
Air Express Edition
 to US and all parts of America, from our US
 Sales Office, c/o American Friends Service Com-
 mittee, 20 South Twelfth St., Philadelphia 7, Pa.
 \$5 year \$1 three months.

CAMPAIGN: HER MEMORIAL

By SHEILA JONES

NEWS of the death of Miss G. F. Fishwick, on February 15, will sadden many friends she made in the course of years of hard work in many organisations devoted to peace. In addition to the voluntary work she did for the Movement for Colonial Freedom, Union of Democratic Control, Socialist Medical Association, she was also at one time Secretary of Victory for Socialism.

As someone who got to know her only in the last two years of her life, I wish to pay a special tribute to this truly wonderful person. Perhaps not many people realise that Miss Fishwick, a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, was the original driving force in the movement which led to the recent launching of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

It is nearly two years ago since the Golders Green Women's Co-operative Guild called a meeting to protest against nuclear weapons and Miss Fishwick became the secretary of a pioneer group. By indefatigable efforts on her part she managed to extend these activities to other localities in North London, and groups were formed in Finchley, Hampstead, Hornsey, Willesden, which amalgamated to form a regional Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests. The spade work was done by Miss Fishwick.

She wrote letters, delivered leaflets, visited the key people in the neighbourhood, and most important of all, by her own sincerity and enthusiasm inspired others to join in the work. Everyone who knew her will remember her special gift for giving all the credit to others for successes which had been achieved largely through her own tireless efforts in the background. After a year of continuous effort Miss Fishwick, although suffering from severe overstrain, was largely instrumental in the formation of a National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests, which was the outcome of her approach to the National Peace Council.

The Conference on Nuclear Tests organised by the National Peace Council in 1956 was attended by over 60 delegates and observers from various organisations. Miss Fishwick was a member of the ad hoc committee set up then, but owing to serious ill health, due to worry and overwork, she had to withdraw from taking an active part in the new Council. This did not prevent her from continuing to help with the routine hack work in the office. It is good to know that just before she died she had the satisfaction of seeing the launching of a new Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. She would have been the last person to admit that she was the prime mover in the initial stages which led to this, but all who knew her will agree that she was an outstanding example of a selfless worker for peace, who firmly shunned the limelight and was an inspiration to all who worked with her.



Supplying literature for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament is Housman's bookstall. Dora Dawtry, wife of Frank Dawtry—well known for his work in penal reform and against capital punishment—is seen managing the stall at the Central Hall on Feb. 17.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE
6, Endeavour Street London, W.C.1

Undergraduates campaign on H-bomb

Peace News Reporter

OVER 500 extra copies of the Oxford undergraduate magazine, "Isis" have been printed to meet the expected demand for the sixth week of term issue which is entirely devoted to the menace of nuclear weapons.

Professor A. C. Coulson, Rouse Ball Professor of Mathematics, and Antoinette Pirie are among the contributors.

The articles are devoted to the campaign for nuclear disarmament in the university which is now reaching its climax.

Copies of the magazine have been sent to Khrushchov, Eisenhower and Macmillan.

Another item in the campaign is the distribution of a referendum on nuclear disarmament among all junior members of the University. A 70 per cent. response is confidently expected.

Leaflets circulated

The Oxford Mail comments: "It will be interesting to see whether there has been a drastic change since the Gemini poll which showed that less than a quarter of the undergraduates in Oxford were in favour of unilateral banning of the bomb."

In the meantime 3,000 leaflets have been circulated and over 50 under-

UNIVERSITIES AND THE BOMB

Students broadcast

STUDENT leaders of the Oxford University Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament were interviewed on Radio Newsreal on the BBC Light Programme on Monday.

One said that as the political parties were not giving the lead that was needed on this issue, the students felt that they must act on what seemed to them to be a most important issue of our day.

Committee to be formed

AT University College, London, the Socialist Society has contacted other student groups as a first step in forming a college committee for nuclear disarmament.

Members of the staff have already agreed to help, and a public meeting is being planned.

Interested students may contact Mr. A. Esterson, Secretary, Socialist Society, University College London Union, Gower Street, London, W.C.1.

Teachers petition Macmillan

TWO hundred and four teachers and research workers of London University have petitioned the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister, the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Gaitskell) and Mr. Aneurin Bevan for nuclear disarmament.

It urges that, pending negotiations on nuclear disarmament, Britain should suspend nuclear patrol flights, stop H-bomb tests, and not establish missile bases.

Lysistrata group formed

A number of girls at St. Hilda's College, Oxford, have organised a Lysistrata group which have resolved not to go out with any man who will not throw himself into the anti-H-bomb campaign.

THE TIMES APOLOGISES

THE severe criticism levelled against The Times for boycotting the news of the big Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament meetings has had some effect, insofar as, in reply to a protest from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, it said that the meeting should have been reported and the omission was "inadvertent."

As a limited compensation, an account of the meeting was published in the next issue of The Times Educational Supplement.

Resolutions no use

The Prime Minister told a rally of women Unionists in Glasgow last week that on the disarmament question "mere resolutions and vague expressions of good will are of no use."

graduates have lobbied MPs during the debate at the House of Commons on the setting up of nuclear bases in Britain.

A number of meetings have already been held but most students were reserving their energies for the meeting to be held in Oxford Town Hall last Tuesday.

An audience of at least a thousand was expected to hear speeches from J. B. Priestley, Philip Toynbee, Victor Gollancz, Alex Comfort and John Berger.

Send us your reports

STUDENTS in colleges and universities are invited to send reports of student activity on the nuclear disarmament campaign to Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4. Copy should be received by Tuesday, second post, at the latest for publication in the following Friday's issue.

H-bomb—challenge to our consciences

STUART MORRIS, the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, commented upon the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, when he addressed a public meeting at Swarthmore Settlement in Plymouth, last Saturday.

"I know that the Campaign is making considerable headway throughout the country, but it is not just enough to ask for the suspension of tests, or delay in setting up nuclear bases, or the discontinuation of the H-bomb."

"A good deal of the propaganda that led up to the previous Campaign for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests has been wrongly based. If you are going to run a campaign you have to be very careful of your facts. You must only use what you can prove to be true," he commented.

Mr. Morris said he believed it was possible to exaggerate the consequences of H-bomb tests, and there had been exaggerated statements.

"Though you can destroy the H-bomb tonight you cannot destroy the knowledge which is in people's minds of how to make them. I do not believe that if war began again you could prevent people from producing them. It is war, itself, which must be eliminated."

His opinion of the recent White Paper was that its choice was total war.

"The White Paper tells Russia that even though it were to attack with conventional weapons and not use nuclear warfare at all we should retaliate with the full might of our nuclear strength. If that is not asking Russia to mount a nuclear attack on us I do not know what is," he said.

MORAL LEAD FROM THE CHURCH

The only answer to the problem, said Mr. Morris, was to have complete and absolute disarmament. Mr. Morris's speech was entitled, "The H-bomb and the Christian Conscience."

On the previous day, speaking at Paignton, Devon, Mr. Morris stressed that the destiny of mankind had never been more precariously poised than at the present time, but that the advent of nuclear weapons did not pose any basically new moral problem.

He pointed out that the present generation spans two war periods; the war to end wars which did not succeed in this aim, and the war to crush Germany and to make the world safe for freedom and democracy, which had ended in a world full of fear in which we were arming Germany as a precaution against attack by our late ally Russia.

"I do not wonder that young men tend to 'look back in anger,'" he said, "but there is no hope in frustration and no sense in anger."

"The world does not need better weapons," he declared, "but a moral lead, and it had every right to expect this lead to come from the churches."

The real challenge of the H-bomb was a challenge to our consciences and if the Church had nothing to offer that could not have come from the Pentagon or the Kremlin where was this moral lead?

The first A-bomb BRITAIN GAVE THE U.S. A BLANK CHEQUE

The military correspondent of The Times, reviewing Volume VI of "Grand Strategy," in the "History of the Second World War Series," by John Ehrman (Stationery Office, 30s.) on November 5, 1956, wrote:—

"THE Potsdam conference ended on August 2 and on the same date the Japanese instructed Sato, their Ambassador in Moscow, to approach the Russians again and ask them to mediate. Stalin and Molotov, however, did not return to Moscow until August 6, and when Sato finally gained an interview on August 8 it was only to hear from Molotov of Russia's declaration of war on Japan."

"Britain's part in the decision to use the atomic bomb appears to have been negligible. Britain and America had agreed at Quebec in 1943 not to use an atomic weapon against a third party without first obtaining each other's consent."

"In the event, the British gave the Americans a blank cheque to use the bomb, apparently before hearing the arguments for and against its use, certainly without seeing Mr. Stimson's memorandum, and before the Americans themselves had finally decided to use it."

"The British Chiefs of Staff were not concerned, as the exchange of correspondence about Britain's attitude was confined to those who had managed atomic affairs throughout—the Prime Minister, Sir John Anderson, and General Wilson in Washington."

"Mr. Ehrman holds that the British blank cheque was not so surprising as it might seem. The balance of power, both in the atomic project and in the Pacific, lay so heavily with the United States, that the British had found from experience that they were most successful when they acknowledged the limits of their contribution."

"Reading between the lines, it is pretty obvious that the Americans would have gone ahead with the bomb, whatever the British view."

★ ★ ★
Writing in "John Bull" on Sept. 3, 1955, Captain B. H. Liddell Hart quoted from Sir Winston Churchill's last volume of his War Memoirs:

"AT Potsdam, three weeks before the bomb was dropped, he (Sir Winston) was told privately by Stalin of a message from a Japanese Ambassador in Moscow expressing Japan's desire for peace"

"In passing on this news to President Truman he suggested that the Allies' demand for an unconditional surrender might be somewhat modified to ease the way for the Japanese to surrender."

"But these Japanese peace-seeking approaches had started much earlier, and were already better known to the American authorities than Sir Winston indicates or seems aware. The facts have come to light since the war. The Japanese Government's desire for peace had been known months before."

"Just before Christmas, 1944, the US intelligence authorities in Washington received a report from a well-informed diplomatic agent in Japan that a peace party was emerging and gaining ground there."

"The agent predicted that General Koko's government—which in July had replaced the government under General Tojo that had led Japan into the war—would soon be succeeded by a peace-seeking government under Admiral Suzuki which would initiate negotiations, with the Emperor's backing. This prediction was fulfilled in April."

The bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945.

Robert Owen Centenary Celebration takes place in the Moreland Hall, Hampstead, London, on Saturday, March 15, from 5.30 to 11.30 p.m., organised by Commonwealth, 12 High Street, London, N.W.3.

HERE IS OUR ANSWER

of the nuclear disarmament succeeding increases.

2 Over-simplification and emotionalism: Let us call a lie a lie. It is utter nonsense to say that the men and parties who have produced the situation in which mankind as a whole is threatened with extinction are either responsible or clear-headed.

If their judgment were so sound, their decisions so wise, we would not be in the mess we are in today. For these to have the audacity to charge those who want to get rid of these weapons which threaten the annihilation of humanity with "irresponsibility" is an inversion of the true situation.

True, more than emotion is needed in a movement to save mankind. But those who doggedly repeat the military clichés of balance of power (and have proved themselves incapable of grasping what Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has called a completely new defence situation) are more emotionally divorced from any sense of reality than those who say, "Get rid of these instruments of suicide."

Non-violent action

3 True, there are serious problems which must be answered which arise from a unilateral giving up of nuclear weapons.

Most people do not think today in terms of over-all encompassing principles or a general plan for solving all of humanity's problems. They think of specific problems which demand answers.

Therefore, while a pacifist minority has long insisted that all war must be abolished, most people have not been able to feel personally the urgency of this call.

They now see, however, that nuclear weapons are intolerable—both morally (Who would drop the Bomb on anyone?) and humanely (Who wants Britain and the rest of the world to die a radioactive death?).

When masses of people feel deeply on such an issue there is the chance for them to do something basic about it.

If they can combine their depth of feeling with strong action—non-violent action and non-violent resistance—they can force a change in policies.

They will thus prove both to those in authority and themselves that they CAN change policies. They will gain both confidence in their ability to do so, and experience in the methods by which such changes can be produced.

If, on the other hand, after years of apathy, an effective means is not found of expressing the extreme public disturbance and producing that change, the public may fall back into a more extreme apathy reinforced by cynicism, and the belief that there is nothing they can do about such evils.

If Sir Stephen King-Hall is right, a unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons will then show that major conventional weapons are of little use.

A major reconsideration of the entire defence policy accepted for decades will be inevitable.

An examination of non-violent resistance as a defence policy will be an obvious thing to do.

The renouncing of the Bomb by Britain will have little effect if she then depends on the US' Bombs to "protect" her.

Britain cannot remain in NATO while repudiating NATO's nuclear policies.

Therefore, if Britain renounces the Bomb, Britain must leave NATO and the Western military alliance.

This would have profound repercussions

throughout the world—including Russia. There is no reason to believe that the Soviet Union would necessarily follow suit and disarm.

Russia already sees it important to cultivate the good-will of Asia and Africa. With Britain disarmed the Russian Government is likely to be very careful not to do anything which could be interpreted as threatening a country which would have captured the imagination and sympathy of peoples throughout the world.

Conventional weapons, as Mr. Sandys says, are not capable of defending Britain—or Norway, Sweden, Germany, and most other countries—against a major attack by any country having overwhelming military might in manpower and conventional weapons.

No military answer

The answer, therefore, to the News Chronicle is that a unilaterally nuclear disarmed Britain ought neither to shelter behind America, nor rely on conventional weapons to resist aggression.

The answer does not lie in conventional "defence" at all, but in the new field of non-violent resistance.

Once Britain gives up the ultimate development in violence, she must inevitably be led to consider the power of non-violent resistance.

● A Britain which posed no threat would be safer than a Britain which was a large rocket base.

● A Britain which posed no threat of annihilation to anyone including the Soviet Union, would clearly not be so likely to be the victim of a preventive attack, as Britain The Base.

This is not to imagine that an unarmed Britain would run no risks. There is no policy in our world today which is not full of risks.

But a nation which is seeking to save mankind, to lead it from the modern nuclear tyranny—even though it may mean hardship and self-sacrifice—is a nation of which the world may be proud, and to which future generations may be eternally grateful.

UNARMED DEFENCE

COMMANDER Sir Stephen King-Hall's new book "Defence in the Nuclear Age" is to be published on Monday by Victor Gollancz Ltd. at 18s.

A number of prominent persons have already commented favourably on it.

Bertrand Russell: "A profoundly interesting book and poses problems the consideration of which is, literally a matter of life and death. His criticism of our present military policy and of the policy of the nuclear deterrent is completely devastating."

Canon Charles Raven: "It is an exciting experience to find a cause generally regarded as quixotic if not suicidal argued by one who has the commonsense and knowledge, the wisdom and clarity to state it compellingly. It is not only exciting but inspiring if that cause happens to be one that you have long advocated and believe to be both morally and practically right."

"Sir Stephen's book will surely convince his fellow-countrymen to take non-violent defence seriously."

Sri Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-President of India: "I hope the book will help us to think calmly and abandon the military road and adopt the peaceful way of settling international disputes."

Canon John Collins: "For Christians, committed as they are in my view to the way of non-violence, it is a 'must'."

Captain B. H. Liddell Hart: "A most striking exposure of the craziness of present defence policy. Its alternative proposals are more questionable, but in sum it presents a challenge which deserves the fullest consideration—and cannot be ignored."

Other comments have been made by Benjamin Britten, Sir Kenneth Grubb, The Bishop of Manchester, Kingsley Martin, J. B. Priestley, Capt. Augustus Agar, VC, RN (Ret.), Field Marshal Viscount Alanbrooke and Sir Adrian Boult.

FROM
PAGE ONE

By Sybil Morrison

THE BOMB

No one can have any certainty about what is the correct policy to prevent a war, or resist an act of aggression in the nuclear age. . . . In the meantime there is the real and present danger that Western public opinion, increasingly alarmed at the implication of any form of nuclear warfare, may lose patience with the attempt to find a middle way between suicide and appeasement, and choose the latter.

—The Observer, March 2, 1958.

Every man worthy of the name has for himself, something worth dying for; a faith, a loyalty, and integrity which neither torture nor temptation could break. Is not the same true of a nation worthy of the name? We are in peril of heightening the risk of war in the sacred name of peace, and losing our honour in the sacred name of humanity.—The Sunday Times, March 2, 1958.

THE wailing horror of the siren, following hard upon Neville Chamberlain's announcement that this country was at war with Germany, on September 3, 1939, will be long remembered by those who heard it.

The unknown was upon us; the Luftwaffe was on its way; bombs against which we had no real protection would, within minutes, be screaming down upon ourselves, our homes, and all that was familiar to us.

It was not long before the British people learned that the answer to those bombs was not, as they had been told, ARP (Air Raid Precautions), but "massive retaliation." Baldwin had said (excusing himself for spending more money on bombing aeroplanes than on fighters), that the bomber would always get through, and that the only "defence" was "to kill more of the enemy's women and children more quickly than they can kill ours."

"We'll give it 'em back!" shouted Churchill, waving his hat, as he stood upon a mountain of rubble beneath which lay buried the mortal remains of men, women and children, related to someone, necessary to someone, beloved of someone.

And so "obliteration bombing," and the atom bomb were born; and so the whole train of explosive power, which has resulted in the nuclear arms race, was set alight.

★

This was the way wars were to be fought; we ought to have known it from that day in 1928 when the British delegate at the League of Nations Disarmament Conference refused to agree to the abolition of the bombing aeroplane; we had in fact known it since Guernica and Barcelona; we should have known it without any doubt, when the atom bomb was used against a country far enough removed from Europe, to ensure that radioactive consequences would not affect the Western peoples.

Gradually the horrible inhumanity of that act began to seep through, and in the first shock there was a stirring, however faint, of public conscience against what had been done in the "sacred name of peace."

But the crushing rejoinder that millions of British and American lives had been saved and the war brought to an end by its use, drowned in its resounding uproar the still small voice that whispered:—"Whatever the excuse, whatever the reason, this was a dastardly, monstrous, and immoral act."

It should have been obvious then; it is certainly obvious now, that reliance upon

All-day film show

THE Orpington (Kent) Committee of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament put on a continuous film show and poster parade all day on Saturday in the Village Hall comprising "Shadow of Hiroshima" and, by contrast, Danny Kaye's "Assignment Children" demonstrating a more constructive use of money and resources on behalf of UNICEF.

This was intended to build up support for a Public Meeting to be held on March 11 when the speakers will be Bishop Mann, Stuart Morris and Dr. D. G. Arnott.

SAVE THIS MAN!

OVER 100 MPs have signed a motion asking the Home Secretary, Mr. Butler, to grant asylum to Joaquim Perez Selles, a Spaniard now awaiting deportation in Brixton Prison and who had left Spain rather than undertake military service.

war brings with it the inevitable and overwhelming necessity of victory. So long as war remains as an accepted method, the weapons of war will remain; there is no escape from the inexorable logic of this fact.

The Observer and The Sunday Times may fulminate, each in their own way, against "the appeaser," and declare that there are things worth dying for, but the far more crucial issue is whether there is anything in the world worth killing for by means of these weapons of fearful inhumanity, which is war.

It is true, that if the wailing of that siren should ever again be heard, it will herald the total destruction of this island. Naturally, and understandably, people are afraid, but fear is an unconstructive emotion.

The crisis in which we live can only be solved by the vision which sees beyond fear to the real core of our collective conscience. A glorious, imperishable, revolutionary crusade against war is the only answer to the world's need.

Duncan Sandys was right; the choice is between total war and total peace. Total peace means total disarmament, and nothing less will do.

Golden Rule ★ FROM PAGE ONE

funds and a fourth seaman to complete the crew.

A. J. Muste, member of the Executive Committee of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, flew from New York to discuss future plans with the crew. The statement concerning the second trip was made jointly with him. He reports support from all over the country for continuing the project.

"One man in New York," he said, "when he heard that the boat had had to turn back, immediately sent us his cheque for \$1,000 to help cover the additional costs."

Muste is Secretary Emeritus of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Bigelow who, with the remaining members of the crew, is a Quaker, is acting out of the conviction that nuclear tests threaten the lives of children yet unborn, and that a cessation of tests will serve as an important first step toward world disarmament. The crew of the Golden Rule has suggested that instead of millions for nuclear tests this money be used to develop world resources and to challenge Russia, England and other nations to compete for good instead of evil.

By their act, the crew of the Golden Rule hope to stir the conscience of all men and to encourage others to voice their opposition to nuclear weapons and tests.

Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons is currently planning for a three-man team to go to Russia via England where, they will speak to the people of both countries about protesting against those nations' bomb tests.

The Non-Violent Action Committee in a "Statement of Intention" released to the public has written: "Peace will come only as the people of each nation face their moral responsibility regardless of what others may do."

STOP THE H-BOMB RACE

before it is too late let Britain give a lead

★

by Frank Allaun, MP, with message from Earl Russell and cartoon by Vicky. Price 6d. (postage 2d.) 5s. dozen post free. UNION OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL 86 Rochester Row, London, SW1

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

21st ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING AND ELECTION OF NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

The Agenda and Reports have been sent to all Groups, each of which is urged to appoint a representative to attend the 21st AGM. Individual members will be very welcome. Applications for delegates or individual members' tickets should be accompanied by 3/- per ticket.

A ballot paper for election of National Chairman is being sent to every signatory on our live file.

If you are a member of the PPU and have not received a ballot paper by March 7, please ask for one from the General Secretary PPU, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.